

# PHILOSOPHY OF SHAH WALIULLAH

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY, ALIGARH
FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
PHILOSOPHY

Under the Supervision of
DR. MOHAMMAD NOOR NABI
the Department of Philosophy
Aligarh Muslim University
Aligarh (India)

By
TASADDUQ HUSAIN

October, 1976

پروفیسر اسلم

1 - SHADES OF MYSTICISM.

2 - GHAZALIS CONCEPT OF TAUHID

3 - DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHTS IN MEDIEVAL INDIA.

خاص طور پر قابل ذکر ہیں ۔ مؤخر الذکر کتاب میں مرحوم نے حضرت خواجہ معین الدین چشتیؒ، خواجہ قطب الدین بختیار کاکیؒ، بابا فرید الدین مسعود گنج شکرؒ، حضرت نظام الدین اولیاءؒ، صوفی حمید الدین سوالیؒ اور حضرت نصیر الدین چراغ دہلیؒ کے مذہبی خیالات پر قلم اٹھایا ہے ۔ کاش کوئی صاحب علم اس کتاب کو اُردو کے قالب میں ڈھال دے ۔

اسی شعبہ کے ایک لائق اُستاد ڈاکٹر تصدق حسین قابلِ ذکر ہیں ۔ موصوف دونوں آنکھوں سے معذور ہیں ۔ اس کے باوجود انہوں نے The Philosophy of Shah Waliullah کے عنوان سے پی ایچ ڈی کے لئے ایک گراں قدر مقالہ لکھا ہے۔ ان کی اہلیہ محترمہ بھی اُردو ادب میں پی ۔ ایچ ۔ ڈی کر رہی ہیں ۔ میرے علی گڑھ میں قیام کے دوران میں ڈاکٹر صاحب موصوف ہر دوسرے تیسرے رُوز مجھے ملنے کے لئے مولانا سعید احمد اکبر آبادی کی قیام گاہ پر تشریف لاتے رہے اور میں بھی انہیں ان کے شعبہ میں جا کر ملتا رہا ۔

ایک دن ڈاکٹر تصدق حسین کے ساتھ مسعود انور علوی نام کے ایک نوجوان بھی تشریف لائے ۔ ان کے کئی مضمون ماہنامہ بُرہان دہلی میں طبع ہو چکے ہیں ۔ تعارف ہونے پر معلوم ہوا کہ موصوف حافظ شاہ محمد مجتبیٰ حیدر سجادہ نشین کاکوری شریف کے صاحبزادے ہیں اور شعبۂ عربی میں ڈاکٹر مختار الدین احمد آرزو کی نگرانی میں " عربی ادب کے ارتقاء میں اودھ کا حصہ " کے عنوان سے پی ۔ ایچ ۔ ڈی کے لئے مقالہ لکھ رہے ہیں۔ ان کے آبائی کتاب خانے میں بیشمار نادر و کمیاب کتابیں محفوظ ہیں ۔ ان نوادرات میں شاہ ولی اللہ دہلویؒ کے کئی رسائل ایسے بھی ہیں جو موصوف کی زندگی ہی میں لکھے گئے تھے۔

کاکوری کے سفر میں شاہ محمد مجتبیٰ حیدر صاحب نے راقم الحروف کو " ہمعات " کا ایک ایسا نادر مخطوطہ دکھایا جو ۱۱۶۰ھ میں شاہ صاحب کی زندگی ہی میں احاطۂ تحریر میں آیا



تھا ۔ سجادہ نشین صاحب کی عنایت سے شاہ صاحب کی ایک تصنیف " فضل المبین " کی زیارت کا بھی شرف حاصل ہوا ۔ اس تصنیف پر شاہ صاحب کے دستخط ثبت ہیں ۔ شاہ صاحب کا لکھا ہوا ایک اجازت نامہ بھی اسی خانقاہ میں نظر سے گزرا ۔

سجادہ نشین صاحب کو اس پر بجا طور پر فخر ہے کہ ان کے پاس شاہ ولی اللہ کے بارے میں محمد عاشق پھلتی کی تصنیف " قول الجلی " کا ایک بڑا نادر نسخہ موجود ہے ۔ میرے کاکوری جانے سے چند رُوز قبل مولانا علی میاں صاحب محض " قول الجلی " کے مطالعہ کے لئے کاکوری تشریف لے گئے تھے ۔ سجادہ نشین صاحب کا یہ دعویٰ ہے کہ شاہ ولی اللہ کے معتقدین نے اس کتاب کو چھاپنے کی بجائے چھپایا ہے کیونکہ اس کتاب کے مطالعہ سے بہت سی ایسی باتیں منصۂ شہود پر آتی ہیں جو شاہ ولی اللہ کے معتقدین کو ناپسند ہیں ۔ سجادہ نشین صاحب کا کہنا ہے کہ شاہ صاحب ستاروں کی تاثیر کے قائل تھے اور نجوم کا حساب لگا کر اہم کام کرنے کے عادی تھے ۔ احمد شاہ ابدالی کے حملے کے وقت انہوں نے فرمایا تھا کہ مریخ کا منحوس سایہ ان کے محلے پر پڑ رہا ہے اس لئے اس محلے سے ترک سکونت ہی میں عافیت ہے ۔

صاحب زادہ مسعود انور علوی اپنے آبائی کتاب خانے کی مدد سے شاہ ولی اللہ اور ان کے ساتھیوں پر مضامین لکھ رہے ہیں ۔ بُرہان میں شاہ محمد عاشق پھلتیؒ پر ان کا ایک عالمانہ مضمون چھپا ہے ۔

مولانا اکبر آبادی صاحب کے ہاں باقاعدہ آنے والوں میں ایک لائق استاد ڈاکٹر محمد یٰسین مظہر صدیقی بھی ہیں ۔ " عہد نبوی کی ابتدائی مہمیں ، محرکات ، مسائل اور مقاصد " کے عنوان سے ان کا ایک عالمانہ مضمون بُرہان میں متعدد اقساط میں شائع ہوا ہے ۔ صدیقی صاحب کے ساتھ میری علمی گفتگو رہتی تھی ۔ موصوف ابھی جواں سال ہیں ، اُمید ہے کہ مستقبل میں اسلام کی ابتدائی تاریخ میں بڑا نام پیدا کریں گے ۔

میرے علی گڑھ میں قیام کے دوران میں " مسلمانوں کی تعلیم اور حصول ملازمت میں مشکلات " کے موضوع پر ایک آل انڈیا سیمینار ہوا ۔ اس موقع پر حکیم عبدالحمید صاحب ، پروفیسر آل احمد سرور ، ڈاکٹر اقبال انصاری ، پروفیسر عرفان حبیب ، شوکت صاحب سابق پرنسپل شبلی کالج اعظم گڑھ اور ناصر الدین حیدر آبادی جیسے فضلاء

The thesis at hand tries to present a comprehensive philosophy of Shah Waliullah. In it we have dealt with his epistemology, metaphysics and ethics consisting of the following heads :

CHAPTER I Life and works

CHAPTER II Epistemology

CHAPTER III Metaphysics

CHAPTER IV Elaboration of Sufism

CHAPTER V Ethics




In his life and works we have discussed his predecessors and their scholarship. Alongwith it we have also pointed out the erudition which Shah Waliullah inheritted from them. It has also been brought to light that throughout his life Shah Waliullah had been inquisitive for the search of knowledge and that obtained from all possible sources of his time. To satisfy his crave he learnt a good deal from his father and other teachers in India and thereafter went to Mecca to prosecute his knowledge. After getting the permission at the age of 14 he began to teach jurisprudence and tradition in the school founded by his father and continued it till the end of his life. Throughout his

life he studied and wrote, and as a consequence to this, made great contribution in the realm of philosophy, tradition and jurisprude-nce.

In his epistemology, we have pointed out that the philosophers in general, consider the reason and the sense experience as the two sources of knowledge. Shah Waliullah neither challenges the authority of the senses nor does he defy the validity of reason as the sources of knowledge but he does emphasise on a hierarchy. To him the lowest kind of knowledge is imparted by the senses. The reason gives a higher kind of knowledge. Apart from these sources he also considers the heart, the soul and the hidden power (sirr) as the sources of knowledge, and one yields higher knowledge than the other. Shah Waliullah being a sufi gives much emphasis to the soul (ruh) and considers it to be the highest source of knowledge. Besides, he lays much emphasis on the forms of intuitive knowledge. Meditation (Kashf), inspiration (Ilham), contemplation (Maraqba), revelation (Wahi) and hidden power (Sirr) all of them are the forms of intuitive knowledge.

According to him the dispositions bring out a discipline in the life of a sufi meaning thereby that it

stands as indispensable for the persuit of Sufi course. Shah Waliullah is of the view that the ignorance of the dispositions prevents his progress and whatever he keeps on practising lacks experience. Shah Waliullah, therefore, speaks of the advantages of their knowledge and also informs of the harms of their ignorance. The advantages of the knowledge of dispositions that he speaks of are : (1) The sufi knows the right way to remember God, (2) he becomes aware of the fact that the knowledge of the things falling out of the span of senses can be attained by the dispositions. Describing the harms of their ignorance Shah Waliullah holds that (1) in case of the ignorance from dispositions the weak senses cannot be made strong. As a matter of fact he is unable to know as to which of these dispositions is weak and how it can be made strong. It is indeed essential for him as any such ignorance would hamper his progress. Moreover, he should be aware, which of the dispositions should dominate the others so that he might control the strange powers in him, (2) the other harm consists in the fact that the sufi passing through the alternate stages of annihilation and subsistence finds himself in a complete astonishment and wonder, for he is at a loss to understand as to what is

going on with him and when he is at a particular stage. Still another harm of the ignorance of these dispositions lies in the fact that the sufi is unable to understand the stage of his predecessors and considers it as the highest or the final one.

Shah Waliullah proceeds on the discussion and gives us an analytical approach by describing the meanings of different terms used by the sufis. He is of the view that the meanings should necessarily be determined so that the context may be clear and there should be no difficulty in understanding and comprehending the underlying thought. Discussing the problem, he takes up the term 'nafs' which is sometimes used as the nature of man and sometimes as the lower soul and at others as the heart. In each case it will have different implications, defects and qualities. In the same way the heart is also used to mean different things. Sometimes it is used to mean a bit of flesh in the body, and at others the power that controls the emotions.

Shah Waliullah also discusses in his epistemology the limitations of the sources of knowledge. It stands as a fact that each one of them imparts the knowledge but in its limited span. He takes them to discuss so that people may not rely on any one of them as every one of them has

its own area of perception and cannot be understood as sufficient for the knowledge of everything. Thus the object present in the world is the actualisation of the forms present in the world of forms. The reason perceives their difference and the relation as well. It also comprehends the difference of the attribute and the substance and along with this also sees through their relation. Higher than the reason in the system of Shah Waliullah there is yet another source of knowledge known as the hidden power or the 'Sirr'. It is a form of intuitive knowledge. Sirr being the hidden power in man makes him realise the secret of truth which is the highest type of knowledge. But it should be kept in view that even this hidden power (Sirr) is not prior to revelation. He again and again emphasises on the need of the prophet and considers the institution of prophethood as the source of human welfare.

Having spoken of the limitations of the sources and the importance of the hidden power (Sirr), Shah Waliullah comes to discuss the distinction between reason and 'Zauq'. Here again he emphasises on the clarity of the terms and by doing so removes the confusion that arises otherwise. Both reason and Zauq impart to us the knowledge of the objects. Yet they are not one and the same and are distinguished

on the basis of their domain. The reason conceives the qualities of objects and Zauq is the power through which the existing object with its contradictory qualities is comprehended. Reason fails to understand the contradiction of the qualities existing in the objects. As a matter of fact it is the error of the senses which apparently perceive the contradiction of qualities, otherwise, in actuality, there exists no such contradiction. He argues that no two individuals are alike and yet they are not different from each other. It is obvious that they are not alike due to the individual qualities and not different from each other due to formal and essential qualities. Looking through the difference in the individuals he comes to conclude that the world exhibits opposites meaning thereby that every object is present in abstracts and it is its form. It is evident that they are neither alike nor different from each other. Even after being separate they are related with one another and this relation is established in the form of manifestation by the universal soul which is devoid of all qualities. Criticising the followers of Wahdatul Wujud he asserts that they are at a loss to understand the relation between the external world and the human beings and the universal soul.

Shah Waliullah being a practising sufi emphasises much on the soul. He is of the view that the essence of man and other things is the soul though it differs in category. Keeping it in view he describes different categories of soul namely the animal soul (Ruh-e-haiwani), the rational soul (Nafs-e-Natiqa), Universal soul (Nafs-e-kulliyah), divine soul (Ruhe Alavi), angelic soul (Nafs-e-malakiyah), world soul (Ruh-e-Samavi), heavenly soul (Nafs-e-falakiya-h), and perfect soul (Nafs-e-Kamila). Apart from them there are some other categories like the mineral soul (Nafs-e-madaniya), Vegetative soul (Nafs-e-Nabatiyah). Each of them resides in the matter related to its capacity and is the being of the object. We have discussed these categories in his epistemology, for it stands as the source of knowledge.

Discussing the categories of soul Shah Waliullah also describes the nature of every one of them and in accordance with their nature they have their own functions to perform. To begin with every one of them is divine but the element of divinity is in accordance with their grades. The animal soul is created out of the temperature and controls the animality. The rational soul is confined to man and controls him as a man. Man possessing both

the animal and rational tendencies also has both the souls viz. the animal and the rational and each of them controls the tendencies related to them. As a matter of fact the former is the element of the latter. The universal soul is more divine in nature and manifests itself in different garbs of existence. The mineral, the vegetative, the animal and the rational souls are its manifestation and it manifests itself in accordance with the universal expediency (Maslihat-e-Kulli).

Discussing the divine soul Shah Waliullah speaks of a point known as 'hajre bahat' and it is the essence of the divine soul and is realised by a sufi who reaches the stage of pure consciousness (Sahw-e-bahat). Having realised the point he sees through many other secrets which so far remained unknown to him. On the basis of the discussion regarding 'hajre bahat' it is the source of the highest type of intuitive knowledge.

It is obvious that the point mentioned above can be the source of knowledge for the few only. Here again it depends on the stage reached by the sufi. As we know the divine soul is a composite of (1) rational soul, (2) the world soul and (3) the hajre bahat. One of the three dominates the others and the stage of the sufi is

determined on the basis of the domination which has been discussed in his epistemology. At present it will suffice to say that the sufi in any of these stages understands the fact that it is the universal soul which manifests itself in different garbs. Criticising the followers of Wahdatul Wujud Shah Waliullah points out that they could not comprehend this fact and considered the existence to be the manifestation of the One beyond our reach. Besides, he also criticises the followers for not having perceived the relation between the attributes and the substance. Although, as he thinks, there is a unity underlying the diversity, yet it is not of the kind which merges into One. To him the unity is hidden in the opposites. The reason must understand it by seeing the contradictory qualities of the objects which are inherent in their being. The qualities of one are shared by others. It is because that all of them are manifestations of universal soul and being its manifestation there is a resemblance with each other, and on the basis of these similarities they are bound up in a unity. And on the basis of this unity they are related with each other. Thus it is neither the relationship, as understood by the followers of Wahdatul Wujud nor is it the one grasped by the people of Wahdatul Shahud. Here

Shah Waliullah partly supports the unitism by understanding the objects to be the manifestation though not of God but of the universal soul (nafs-e-kulliya) and he differs from the school by asserting that the complete knowledge of God is a matter of impossibility. We only know a part of the truth.

Shah Waliullah is of the view that any of these dispositions can be perverted and the perversion of each of them would influence the other. Besides, the perversion of one would result into the creation of a particular evil. Explaining it he holds that if the soul is perverted, man would lead a sexual life; if the heart is perverted, he will be guided by his emotions and the perverted reason would not let him discern the right and wrong. The purified and trained dispositions would help man inculcate all the Karnal virtues namely piety (taharat), attention to God (Khusu), attachment (Samahat) and Justice (Adalat). On the basis of this dispussion we may conclude that the correct knowledge depends on the right sources and if they are untrained and unpurified they cannot lead us to true knowledge. In the case of not being able to get the true knowledge it will be difficult for man to lead a good and virtuous life.

There has been a controversy regarding the Shariah and 'tariqat'. Some of the sufis are of the view that 'tariqat' is more important than the 'Shariah'. It will be worthwhile to mention here, as Shah Waliullah has himself discussed, that the naqshbandis in particular laid emphasis on it and did not give due importance to Shariah. But as Shah Waliullah thinks that Khwaja Naqshband indeed did not mean it, his followers rather misunderstood him and misinterpreted his thought. It was, therefore, that Shah Waliullah took up to explain the importance of Shariah but it should be borne in mind that he still persists to follow his method of synthesis and consequently affirming the importance of Shariah does not, however, defy the relevance of 'tariqat'. But it stands as a fact that the Shariah being the spirit of Islam is more important.

To him, Shariah is only the way to purify and train these dispositions. Discussing it he holds that there are two aspects of Shariah namely the internal and the external one. The external aspect purifies the five senses (Jawarih). It keeps man refrain from the sins and establishes a system of values. The internal aspect of Shariah purifies man's soul and makes him understand the meaning of vice and virtue. The external and the internal

aspects purify different dispositions and in accordance with the purification of the dispositions the stage of the salik is determined. For example one whose heart is purified and trained is truthful (siddiq), one whose animality is trained is a man of penitence (zahid), one whose reason is purified is a learned man (rasikhulilm), and one whose dispositions and senses are not trained but he avoids a life of senses, is righteous (Sahibul yamin).

The chief importance of the Shariah lies in the fact that there are two tendencies in man, namely the animal or sensual tendencies and the rational or angelic tendencies. The former instigate man to the life and sin and profanity and the latter help man to the life of piety and virtue. Shariah being a discipline helps sublime the former tendencies and due to their sublimation man becomes pure and pious. Thus it may be concluded that Shariah enjoys a priority in the inculcation of virtue in the life of man. Moreover, it helps man impart the knowledge. Being the complete discipline it informs man about the right and the wrong.

Shah Waliullah also emphasises on the habitual obedience to God. Man must obey God not because that He has commanded for it but because we feel an urge of

obedience.

Having explained the sources of knowledge Shah Waliullah takes up the dangers of getting false knowledge. The first one of them lies in the misunderstanding. Shah Waliullah is of the view that many of the sufis are not capable of understanding the stages of annihilation and subsistence and it is therefore that the scholars of shariah have not explained them. But Shah Waliullah considering it as indispensable takes up to explain them because the sufis of his time were rather confused about these stages and he saw in it a possibility of miscomprehension and chaos.

Shah Waliullah is convinced of the fact that every event has its cause. It should however not be mistaken that he believes in the correspondence theory of causation. Every danger rooted in the sources of knowledge can be eradicated by analysing its cause and, as a matter of fact, as inferred on the basis of his views, the best possible way of its eradication lies in the purification of the dispositions.

Speaking of the dangers Shah Waliullah also asserts that the sufi should be able to know the divine motive. Discussing it he asserts that the urge is created

in the world of forms by the universal expediency (maslihat-e-kulli) and is brought to the individuals by the higher angels in the world of forms. The salik must have the capacity of admitting it. He, however, is informed of the divine motive in different ways.

At the outset of metaphysics of Shah Waliullah we have taken the problem of synthesis which may rightly be considered as his main contribution in the realm of metaphysics and sufism. One of them was the controvers-y between the two schools of sufism, namely Wahdatul Wujud and Wahdatul Shahud. He took up to resolve the controversy neither by rejecting any of them nor by propounding any other school but by seeking a reconciliation between the too. And, as history witnesses, he was successful in his efforts. His philosophical writings could earn for him a good deal of fame and reputation. Besides, he was honoured as a renowned traditionist and an erudite scholar of jurisprudence.

Shah Waliullah did not attempt only at finding out similarities between the above mentioned schools of sufism but he also tried to resolve the controversies in different realms, namely shariat and tariqat and various schools of jurisprudence (fiqah). We have mentioned it

to prove that for Shah Waliullah synthesis was a method and he applied it in his various writings on different subjects. This work only discusses the synthesis of the described schools. Shah Waliullah puts forward convincing arguments to point out that wujudiyat and shahudiyat are the two stages and as the shahudiyat has been propounded in a later period of history, it is a higher stage. It should be borne in mind that Mujaddid Alf Thani also holds the same opinion but his followers reject one and propound the other. But Shah Waliullah does not take himself to any such thing. Contrary to this, he explains that they, being the stages should not be rejected. Shah Waliullah is of the view that the place of a thought in the history should be determined and having determined it we should try to understand the development of knowledge. He holds that every age has its own span of knowledge and whatever is written in it is undoubtedly in accordance with the comprehension made possible on the basis of its development. Putting it more explicitly he asserts that the people belonging to different ages have their own domain of perception which categorically depends on the standard of the knowledge developed in that age. In brief, one come to conclude that Shah Waliullah does not reject the

thought of any of his elders.

Discussing the similarities between the two schools Shah Waliullah proceeds on saying that Truth is one and so vast that it cannot be claimed to have achieved it fully. As a matter of fact the truth even after being one is an ocean in itself and the seeker, inspite of his all efforts, gets only a drop and is contented with it. Explaining it he presents the traditional analogy of the birds taking water from the spring drop by drop with their beaks and a traditional example of blind men having felt the parts of the tree. Each of them considered the part as whole. By presenting these examples Shah Waliullah aims at asserting that in the first case the truth stands beyond our reach and in the second phase it has been mistakenly understood. The anology shows the vastness of the truth and the example gives us a clue of the miscomprehension of its seekers. In the first case it undoubtedly stands as convincible and in the second, as Shah Waliullah himself asserts, a man of sound vision may correct the mistake.

Explaining the similarities between wujud and shuhud Shah Waliullah brings to light a very important discussion. He begins it by asserting that the existence

and concept are separable and are different on the basis of the qualities. The existence in concept is an abstract existence and the existence perceived is characterised by some qualities and the most important of them are the objectivity and the existence itself. Shah Waliullah has made a contribution by pointing out the qualities in the objects. Thus it is suggestive of the fact that the objects possess two types of qualities namely (1) the common and essential qualities and (2) the individual qualities and both running through the objects make it what it is perceived. The existence is a common and essential quality of the objects. It runs through all the bodies and thus it unites them all. It is on this basis that the unityism or wujudiyat is supported by Shah Waliullah. Writing about the shuhudiyat, Shah Waliullah agrees with the Mujaddid on the point of the existence of the opposites but he does not agree with him when he asserts that the world is not the manifestation but the reflection of the attributes. To Shah Waliullah the difference between the two statements is the difference of interpretations. Shah Waliullah again points out that the Mujaddid is right to assert that the appeared and the appearing, i.e. reflected and the reflecting are different. It is on the will of

the reflecting to reflect as long as it desires. That is to say that the image formed after reflection rests in the body reflecting and it remains in the mirror so long as body is present before it. In spite of its being the image of the same body it cannot however be asserted that the two are identical. Ibne Arabi, as Shah Waliullah thinks, perceived this identity in the state of ecstacy on which the distinction between the two namely God and the world is not clear due to the over powering of the rapturous condition of the sufi.

Writing about sufism Shah Waliullah points out the importance of sufi practices. He philosophically explains the two aspects of Islam namely the external and the internal, the Shariah and Ihsan (beautification). Each one of them is formed by different types of people i.e., (1) the reformers, Mujaddids etc., and (2) by sufis. Differing from those, whom he does not name, he defines suluk as the will of God and also points out its different stages.

Having described it Shah Waliullah comes to discuss different attributes which are acquired by a sufi with the help of his repetitive efforts. To present a brief of them we shall give only their names :

1) attribute of piety ; It is indeed necessary for a sufi in particular and for the people in general. Cleanliness has been adorned by almost all the religions.

2) Attribute of relief (Nisbat-e-Sakina) ; The secret of this attribute lies in the contentment and relief of the heart. It can be acquired in three phases ; (1) by rememberance of God, (2) by inclusion of mercy (Shumul-e-rahmat) and (3) by the admittance of the light of the divine names.

3) Thereafter he discusses the Owaisia attribute which is acquired by seeking the proximity with the angelic or the sufi souls.

Discussing the attribute of memory Shah Waliullah points out a very important thing. He holds that the knowledge of the object is gained with the help of the images.

Shah Waliullah understanding its nature begins his ethics with the definition of virtue; He is of the opinion that every object whether animate or inanimate possesses some attributes (Kamalat). Discussing them he holds that there are two types of attributes (Kamalat) namely the natural or the innate ones and the acquired ones. In the case of inanimate object it may evidently

be inferred that there arises no question of any acquired attributes. They must possess only the innate or the natural ones. It is in the case of man and some other higher animals that some attributes are acquired. The presence of innate attributes is essential in all the species though it is evident that there would be a difference in accordance with the nature of the things. Even after that there are some qualities (Kamalat) which are common in the species. Shah Waliullah gives many examples of these common and essential qualities in different species, and in them he speaks of the common and essential qualities inheritted by different species. Some of them are shared by man and inanimate objects, some of them are common in man and plants, and others are shared by man and animals. These common and essential qualities shared by different species cannot be counted as their virtues for they are in their very being or in other words innate. Their possession cannot be considered as something specific which can separate them on their basis as virtuous or vicious. These qualities can be regarded as virtues in the case of species without which their existence is a matter of impossibility.

Having spoken of the common and essential qualities

Shah Waliullah discusses the attributes particularly possessed by man alone. Some of them are, for example the high morale, courage and good efforts. To Shah Waliullah they are partial virtues, for many of them are possessed by higher animals. Courage is one of the examples. There comes then the question as to what the virtue is. The answer to this question as Shah Waliullah thinks, is that virtue is one controlled by soul and desired by reason.

It is but indispensable that the virtue is embodied in the action, and every action cannot, however, be regarded as virtuous. It is obvious and requires no clarity. Shah Waliullah, admitting the fact, speaks of two types of actions namely one related to the world and the other related to divinity. Both the types of action are potential in man and he realises to perform them when the time demands. Courage, for example is shown at the time of danger, otherwise it lies hidden as potentiality and does not come forth unless demanded. Similar is the case with other actions related to the world. Shah Waliullah is of the opinion that these actions are virtues but not in the real sense. And it is also evident that all of them cannot be regarded as virtue (Saadat) for

many of them belong to the animal tendencies which in no way do any good to mankind. The second type of actions, as Shah Waliullah holds, are also potential in man, and since they are concerned with divinity and are the qualities of man alone are held as virtue in the real sense.

It also stands as a fact that for being a man animality be sublimated. And it is, therefore, that the philosophers have suggested different ways for its suppression. The Ishraqis, for example, as Shah Waliullah himself mentions, preferred to destroy it completely. But it is rather difficult for a man to do it and so Shah Waliullah prefers another way which in our opinion, is more psychological and suitable to the human nature. He holds that the complete destruction of animality is a matter of impossibility but it is true that it can be sublimated to a great extent and when it will be suppressed it is evident that the angelic or rational tendencies which we may call the divinity would dominate and its domination would result into the cultivation of the virtue in the real sense (saadat) belonging to the second category of actions. Here Shah Waliullah shares many other philosophers which he does not mention. However,

the way which he suggests is more practicable even for the common man to make him virtuous and it is, indeed helpful in the realisation of Saada, the virtue in the real sense.

The second type of actions lead to the creation of following virtues which must necessarily be possessed by a virtuous man. Shah Waliullah names them as (1) purity (taharat), (2) humility (ijz), (3) detachment (samahat), and (4) justice (adalat). All of these virtues are cultivated voluntarily and when man becomes habitual of them, he feels uneasiness in their absence.

Shah Waliullah considers the above described virtues as the cardial ones, but along with it he also ponders over other actions which are either to be taken as virtues or as sins. In his ethics he first takes up the actions held as virtues.

The first one of them is the belief in the unity of God. He considers it as one of the essential virtues to be possessed by man or he would not be taken to be a Muslim. Describing it he speaks of the stages, namely the belief in the unity of God (1) as the only existence, (2) as the only creater, (3) as the only designer of the universe and (4) as the only one to be worshipped.

The second of these virtuous actions is the belief in the attributes of God. Shah Waliullah considers the attributes to be the similes which should carefully be unfolded. Due to the difficulties he agrees with the Islamic view that the common man should not contemplate over them. Besides, he also describes their categories namely (1) the attributes allowed to be thought over by Shariah, (2) the attributes disallowed to be thought over by Shariah, and (3) the attributes to be thought over as per necessity. For instance, laughing (zahak), happiness (farhat) etc., belong to the first category, sobbing and lamenting are included in the second category; and the attributes like that of knowledge such as seeing, hearing etc., come under the perview of the third category. By giving these categories Shah Waliullah means to point out that belief in the attributes is necessary but the ponderance on them may mislead the people.

Shah Waliullah is of the opinion that the destiny is greatest of all virtues. In order to support his contention he cites certain traditions which we have mentioned in his ethics. Besides, he also speaks of its five stages namely (1) the stage of form, (2) the stage of number, (3) stage of Adam's creation of and his posterity,

(4) stage of the fusion of the soul into the foetus and (5) it is the stage when the events happening in the world of matter are recorded in the world of heaven. From the discussion of these stages it is clear that Shah Waliullah professes a staunch belief in destiny and advocates it with the same force and firmness. The stages categorically suggest that Shah Waliullah does not believe in complete freedom of will but it should also be taken into account that he neither denies the freedom of man. He is of the view that in spite of the determinism man has been given the power of choice and this implies that he is responsible for his right and wrong deeds. Shah Waliullah, like Asharites, advocates semi determinism or the determined freedom.

In the discussion of virtues, Shah Waliullah also takes up worship. He regards it as one of the greatest virtues man should cultivate in him for it benefits him and satisfies his nature. Shah Waliullah repeatedly emphasises on the importance of worship. He regards it essential for the training of senses and it but has also brought to light its types. He regards the pagans as polytheists. He thinks those to be the same who worship the planets, and what actually draws our attention is that

he also considers christians as polytheists. Shah Waliullah also classifies the sins as the major and the minor ones.

Apart from it, he speaks of other virtuous actions like prayer (Salat), fasting (Saum), holy tax (Zakat), pilgrimage to Makka (Haj), holy war (Jahad), ablution (Wazu), bathing (Ghusl). In addition to this he also describes the secrets lying behind these virtues.

Shah Waliullah has given a complete system of ethics. He has not discussed the virtues alone but has also described the vices. At the outset of the discussion of the vices he takes up polytheism.

Shah Waliullah is of the view that the worship should be performed by will and not by habit. Here he explains the meaning of will. The power of will lies in the power of choice. He explains it by criticising the philosophers that the will implies doing and not doing of an action, and before it is done or not done it does not mean anything, meaning thereby that the action is prior to will, its performance depends on it. Thus he explains that the action is prior to will. It is created by God, first in world of forms and then in the world of objects and man chooses its doing or not doing. And worship being one of the virtuous actions should be chosen by man

by his own will. The same controversy he resolves by pointing out that there are two types of actions namely (1) (a) voluntary, (b) involuntary and (2) laws. They are also of two types, (1) necessary and (2) probable. Explaining it he gives the example of a statement of a person declaring that the poison necess-arily causes death. The other defies the statement and challenges its necessity. To him a person taking poison may survive. Thus in one case it is necessary, and in the other it is probable.

In addition to the other perversions brought about by the sin, it effects the outward behaviour of man. As he lives in the society he must behave in a way which does not affect the institution, and if he does not do so, not only the society but he too will be affected and the development of both, man and society will be hampered. Thus the reformation in the outward behaviour is a must.

The second cause consists in the blessing and curse of the higher angels in 'khatiratul quds'. Their blessing is reward and their curse is punishment. Shah Waliullah clarifies it saying that finally God blesses the virtuous and penalises the vicious. Man having the power of choice earns any one of them for himself.

Rationalising it, he holds that every creature feels contented and relieved if it does in accordance with its nature and if it acts otherwise it feels suffocation and torture. The same is true in the case of man. He possesses the divine disposition (Latifae noorani) which is the case of his nature, consequently, he must perform the actions satisfying this disposition. If his actions correspond to his nature, he feels satisfaction, and if the case is otherwise, he feels torture and pain.

Shah Waliullah presents a complete system of ethics. Regarding virtue he is of the view that it will be determined in accordance with the species. The virtue in the case of other species of animals will be the innate attributes (Kamalat-e-naui) and in case of man it will be determined on the basis of acquiring those qualities helping the dominance of divinity present in the ess ence of man. Regarding destiny it has been ascertained that he advocates semi-determinism. Shah Waliullah does not reject the principle of reward and punishment, instead of it he holds that God being the knower of all things also knows the destiny of man which he will choose for himself in his future. Shah Waliullah is also of the view that blessing and curse of God depends on His will. Like

Asharites he never likes to limit the powers of God in any sphere. In our opinion Shah Waliullah, by considering man to be good by nature, presents an ideal of man who is perfect in all respects and that man is Prophet Muhammad (Insan-i-Kamil).

**********
********
******

DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY
ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY
ALIGARH. (U.P.) INDIA.



October 13, 1976

This is to certify that the thesis entitled "PHILOSOPHY OF SHAH WALIULLAH" is the original work of Mr. Tasadduq Husain and is suitable for submission for the award of Ph.D. degree in Philosophy.

( Dr. Mohd. Noor Nabi )
SUPERVISOR

C O N T E N T S



*****

## acknowledgment

It really gives me a great pleasure to extend my most cordial thanks to my Supervisor Dr. Mohd. Noor Nabi, Reader, Department of Philosophy, AMU., Aligarh for his invincible love and devotion that he showered by giving his able guidance and sincere advice. He has always steered me to overcome every problem that I faced during these years of my research work. In this period I was baffled many a times but the supervisor always came to my rescue at these very critical junctures . His help and cooperation gave me the incentive to complete the thesis.

I should be failing in my duty if I do not thank my erudite and venerable teacher Professor Dr. Ishrat Hasan Enver who provided me every possible facility in the pursuit of my studies. His help and obligation is indeed unprecedented without which this work would not have been completed.

My thanks are also due to all my friends and colleagues who helped me in finalizing the matter. The last, but not the least, I must extend my deepest thanks to the following for their kind assistance and conducement :

Professor S. Nurul Hasan
Union Minister of Education & Social Welfare, Government of India

University Grants Commission

Mr. H. A. Alhashmi
Provost Aftab Hall, AMU

Mr. M. U. Khan & Mr. S. A. Farooqi

( Tasadduq Husain )

# CHAPTER - I

## LIFE AND WORKS

The assessment of ability, intellectual capacity or any other exalted quality may be made only after assessment of the personality of the person in view. Without it the glimpses are vague and implicit and we feel rather dissatisfied with the account of the contribution of anyone whom we uphold as worth describing and study.

Keeping this in view, we are bound to present a short account of the life of Shah Waliullah, who has been an eminent scholar and prominent figure of his day. He rises to the view at the time of decline of Mughal empire. The decline was not effective from the point of view of regime but, as it stands as a principle that the decay of a regime results in to the decline of a set of values and eventually morality in the society. We need not substantiate the argument with a bulk of contentions, it will suffice to say that history witnesses such changes in the society whenever a particular regime has come to decline. Similar was the condition of the society in India when Shah Waliullah took up on his shoulders to revive the old but not orthodox values

of Islam. The Muslims in particular at that time had forgotten what they received from their predecessors in inheritance. Describing it more explicitly, the knowledge of tradition was completely drawn to oblivion. The Muslims were indulged in rival views and little was thought of religion. Before him, it was Shah Abdul Haque Dehalvi to commence the renaissance of tradition in India. His efforts did not result in to any record success. After him the able and saintly father of Shah Waliullah, Shah Abdul Rahim began to teach the tradition in his school. He also could not achieve any greater success in the revival of the knowledge of tradition, but his descendent Shah Waliullah is noted for his contribution in the teaching of the tradition to the Muslims of India. He is notable not in the realm of tradition alone but also in the field of philosophy. We shall discuss his contribution to philosophy after giving a short accounts of his biography. In the discussion of his biography, we consider it to be indispensable to make the mention of those who contributed to make Shah Waliullah, what he is. In other words, we shall deal with those who have influenced him and whose echoes are heard in his works and teachings.

Shah Waliullah is a descendent of Shaikh Shamsuddin.

He is believed to have come from Arabia at the time when Islam was spreading over the continent of Asia. However, nothing can be said with surety about the date of his arrival in India, but it is a matter of certainty that after his arrival he settled at 'Rohtak' (a town in Punjab). He was a staunch devotee of Islam and made all his attempts to spread it within the reach of his voice. We must mention it here that from Shaikh Shamsuddin to Shah Abdul Aziz, the son of Shah Waliullah, all of them were the devoted muslims and served for the cause of Islam. We must keep it in mind that Shah Waliullah was brought up in an environment where devotion to Islam stood as the characteristic feature of the family.[1]

The next whom comes in the generation of Shamsuddin was Shaikh Kamaluddin. He was a renowned scholar of Islam and the religious leader of the day. He was succeeded by his son Shaikh Qutubuddin about whom not much is known. However, his scholarship and erudition are unchallenged. The next important figure that emerged in the family of Shaikh Shamsuddin was Abdul Malik, the son of Qutubuddin. He was a man of ability. He received his basic education from the scholars of his own family. Thereafter, he began

to learn the tradition and soon became accomplished in it. His ability and scholarship made him extra ordinarily popular among muslims. After his death, his son became the Qazi (Qazi Buddha). He was not as learned as his forefathers. He had three sons namely Qasim, Shaikh Maukan and Shaikh Yusuf. Qasim became the successor of his father. He was succeeded by Shaikh Yusuf and after his demise Qadir, the elder son of Shaikh Yusuf became the Qazi (Judge). Qadir had a brother who equalled him in scholarship and ability. Qazi Qadir had two sons namely Shaikh Mehmood and Shaikh Adam and his brother Shaikh Kamaluddin had only one son named as Shaikh Nizamuddin. Shaikh Mehmood being the eldest of all succeeded his father but later on renounced the honour of Qazi and led a sufi life. He was a spiritual man and had the divine gift of ability. After him, the renounced scholar of this generation was Shaikh Ahmad, the son of Shaikh Mehmood. He owed his scholarship to Shaikh Abdul Ghani Ibne Shaikh Abdul Hakim, who was an acknowledged sufi and scholar of his time. The student of Shaikh Abdul Ghani, Shaikh Ahmad was as great a scholar, as his predecessors were. He had two sons, Shaikh Mansoor and Shaikh Husain. Shaikh Mansoor had four sons namely Shaikh Moazzam,

Shaikh Azam, Shaikh Abdul Ghafoor and Shaikh Ismail. Among them, Shaikh Moazzam was a notable figure. He had three sons, Shaikh Jamaluddin, Shaikh Feroz and Shaikh Wajihuddin. From Shaikh Wajihuddin descends Shah Abdul Rahim, who had two more brothers Abu Raza Mohd. and Shaikh Abdul Hakim. Shah Waliullah was the son of Shaikh Abdul Rahim.[2]

We have given a short account of the predecessors of Shah Waliullah. We shall now present a brief sketch of the life of his father Shaikh Abdul Rahim. The account of his life is rather essential for our purpose because it will help us to understand the disposition of Shah Waliullah which he got in inheritance.

Shaikh Abdul Rahim the father of Shah Waliullah was born in 1054 Hijra. He was born in a family having a mystic disposition. It is evident that he must have been influenced by the family environment. He received his education from Shaikh Abu Raza Mohd., his brother, Khwaja Khurd and Abul Qasim Akberabadi. Syed Abdullah was hisspiritual guide. Since his childhood, he had a taste for knowledge in order to satisfy the crave. He studied the tradition (Ahadith) and Muslim jurisprudence (Fiqah). He was an erudite scholar of his time. Having been accomplished in the knowledge of tradition, Shariah and Fiqah, he established a

school in Delhi and began to teach there. He belonged to a well established and prosperous family and as a consequence to this he hardly had to think of his subsistence. However, he had a reputation in the Mughal court because his father Shaikh Wajihuddin held an important post in the city of Delhi. He was desirous to preach Islam and taught the tradition, Shariah and jurisprudence to a great number of Muslims. Thus Shaikh Abdul Rahim benifitted the Muslim intelligentsia by his scholarship and ability.[3]

Inspite of being prosperous, he led a simple life and since he was a sufi, he wore traditional sufi dress. He was a pious man and used to honour the people like him. Throughout his life, the teaching of Islam remained his objective and it was due to his efforts that revival of the teaching of tradition took place and the muslims of India had the opportunity to learn tradition, Shariah and jurisprudence. It is really a worthwhile contribution of Shaikh Abdul Rahim, but it was rather excellently made by Shah Waliullah (his son).

Shaikh Abdul Rahim died on 12th of Safar 1131 Hijrah in the period of Farrukhsiyar. At the time of his death he was seventy seven.[4]

Before we begin the account of the life of Shah Waliullah, it will be apt to speak a few words about the characteristics of his family. We take upon ourselves to describe it because with its help we shall have a key to probe in his personality and eventually understand him with more clarity and better explicitness.

From Shaikh Shamsuddin to Shaikh Abdul Rahim we see in his family a line of scholars each of them gained popularity and honour for his erudition and ability. On the basis of their scholarship and ability, they had gained the favour of the court and were given high honours. Many of them were given the responsibility of the post of Qadhi (Judge) and many of them, although had no such post, yet they were greatly honoured in the court for their learning and ability. Most of his forefathers were divinely inspired and had a sufi disposition. His father Shaikh Abdul Rahim was influenced by a sufi, Khwaja Hashim, belonging to the sect of Naqshbandiya. On this basis it is concluded that the Shaikh, if did not belong, was at least in proximity with this sect. Thus it is evident that Shah Waliullah descends from a family of scholars having sufi disposition and aptitude. It is more than essential that he must have got sufi potentialities, love of wisdom and devotion to knowl ige

in inheritance. The account of his family brings us to understand these significant corolaries to his character. On this basis, it will be facile for us to understand his personality.

Now that we have described his family background, it is time for us to present a resume of his biography.

Shah Waliullah was born on 4th Shawwal 1114 Hijrah (1703 A.D.). He was brought up with a special care and kind patronage of his father. Since his father was a sufi and in addition to this some other sufis had prophesied about Shah Waliullah that he would be a great saint and a great scholar of his age in whom his family would always feel a pride. The prophecies embodied a sheer truth which is manifest in his life. At the time of his birth, the Shaikh was not leading a prosperous life. He received no anuity from the Fort government, however, he was a self reliant man and was able to bring up his posterity in a proper way.[5]

Shah Waliullah had a great ability, capacity and aptitude of learning and his father had realised it. Keeping this in view Shaikh Abdul Rahim began to impart knowledge to his able son since he was only five years old. In the beginning he brought him up in his able guidance. His

guidance made him a child different from others of his age. Shah Waliullah started learning Persian when he was seven years old and due to the devotion to knowledge he soon achieved an accomplishment. Thereafter, at the age of ten years, he was well versed in grammar and composition. His father also taught him logic and very soon he was a scholar in it. When he was fourteen years old, his father invited the renowned sufis and scholars and before them put the 'Amama' on his head, signifying that he was allowed to teach the tradition and sufism to others. In the fourteenth year of his life before this auspicious occasion, he took the oath of allegiance before his father and became the disciple. His father commanded him to follow the path of Naqshbandiya in sufism. In the same year, he was married. His marriage followed many unhappy events and due to them he was greatly perturbed. However, his devotion to knowledge was never extinguished and inspite of the mishaps he continued to go through the books of tradition and Fiqah. His father died when he was seventeen years old. His death gave him a great shock and he took up some time to reconcile with the existing situation.[6]

His father made him his successor in his life time. He had completed his education by that time and his father aptly considered him to be able to teach the tradition, Shariah and Fiqah. After his father's death, it was now his responsibility to preach Islam and teach theology. His father had founded a school in which education of theology was given to the disciples. After him, his son Shah Waliullah took up on himself to perform his great duty. Indeed, he had the ability to do the task. Soon he gained a tremendous popularity among the muslims of India. A number of disciples came to learn tradition and Fiqah from him. He was regarded to be an excellent scholar and teacher. Due to his efforts the revival of the learning of tradition took place and the muslims from far-off places started coming to him to learn the tradition and Fiqah.[7]

After Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddith Dehlavi and Shaikh Abdul Rahim, Shah Waliullah was the man, who was actually successful in the revival of the learning of tradition and Fiqah. The number of disciples that he taught was greater than ever. The muslims in India developed in aptitude for theology and a great number of them came to him for the attainment of its knowledge.[8]

Shah Waliullah after the death of his father imparted the education of theology to the muslims for twelve years. As a teacher, he was held high and his disciples paid a great respect. He loved his disciples and always made a kind treatment with them. To many of them, who had the talents and crave for knowledge, he offered a financial support.[9]

Having taught for twelve years, he felt an inquisitive urge to continue to learn the religious sciences from better scholars. Although he himself was a great scholar and had many disciples yet he felt to develop his knowledge in it. With this view he made up his mind to go to Arabia for the attainment of religious learning.[10]

Having reached Arabia and after performing Haj, Shah Waliullah presented himself before Shaikh Mohd. Wafadullah Ibne Shaikh Mohd. bin Mohd. bin Sulaiman Almagharabi as a disciple. The Shaikh was pleased to receive him and on his request included him in his disciples. For some time he taught him and thereafter allowed him to teach the tradition. From him he read 'Mouta Yahya Ibne Yahya'. Being accomplished from his school, he went to Shaikh Abu Tahir Mohd. bin Ibrahim Kirdi, where he learnt 'Sahi Bukhari' and sufism. Shaikh Abu Tahir was himself a great sufi and Shah Waliullah

attained gnosis under his guidance. On the completion of spiritual discipline the Shaikh bestowed upon Shah Waliullah the sufi garment (Khirqa). He also learnt tradition from Shaikh Tajuddin Quali Hanafi, who also certified his ability to teach tradition and granted him the permission to teach it. After satisfying himself with the endowment of the accomplishment in tradition Shah Waliullah returned to India.[11]

He was not only a scholar of the scholastic sciences but also a devoted sufi. We shall mention the names of those who influenced him in the realm of tradition and sufism. All of them were great scholars and sufis of the day. They are Shaikh Ahmad Sharavi, Shaikh Ahmad Qashashi, Syed Abdul Rahman Idrisi, Shamsuddin Mohd. bin Ala Babli, Shaikh Isa Jafri Maghrabi, Shaikh Ibrahim Kirdi, Shaikh Hasan Ajami, Shaikh Ahmad Ali and Shaikh Abdullah bin Salim Albasri Summalmaski. To some of them he owed the knowledge of sufism. He had studied them with the help of his teachers in Arabia and to some he owed the knowledge of tradition. It means that the tradition came to him from them as a source. Apart from it, Shah Waliullah was influenced with his uncle Shaikh Abu Raza Mohd, who along with his brother Shaikh Abdul Rahim shared the company of Khwaja Abdullah Almaroof and Khwaja Khurd

Mateofi. Khwaja Khurd had shared the discussions with the disciples namely Imam Rabbani, Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, known as Mujaddid Alfasani, Shaikh Allahdad Dehlvi, Khwaja Hisamuddin, Shaikh Rafiuddin, Shaikh Tajuddin Sambhali and Khawaja Raziuddin Baqi, who was a learned scholar of wahadat-ul-wujud. Imam Rabbani established the school of wahdat-ul-shahud. Shaikh Abdul Rahim and his brother were benefitted by the scholarship of Imam Rabbani. But even after that they were more inclined towards wahadatul wujud. Shah Waliullah mentions it in his book 'Anfasul Arafeen.[12]

After returning from Arabia Shah Waliullah resumed his duty of imparting the knowledge of tradition to others. Now he was satisfied with his accomplishment and hence he spent all his life in teaching the tradition and writing the books. Owing to the abilities of Shaikh Abu Tahir and Shaikh Mohd. Wafdullah, he became a greater scholar and a real erudite man. His popularity reached on the peak and he became an important figure of the day in theology. He continued the teaching of tradition until he died at the age of sixty three in 1176 Hijrah.[13]

Througout his life, Shah Waliullah stood for the cause of Islam, the main objective of his life was to attain knowledge and impart it to others. He spent his life in

writing books which reveal his genius and importance as a scholar. He was an eminent scholar of theology on one hand and a great sufi on the other. We should not consider him as a traditional theologian. Even after being a scholar of theology, he was a man of contemplation. He had a philosophy of life and he expressed it in his writings. He was an eminent philosopher of the day and was aware of sufism. He had studied logic and philosophy. He went through the school of wahadatul wujud and wahadatul shahud. He has attempted at bringing the affinity between the two schools. We shall deal with it in coming chapter. Before we conclude this chapter we deem it apt to make a mention of his great works.[14]

1. Fatahul Rahman Fi Tarjuman Al-Quran
2. Fauzul Kabir Sharah Fatahul Kabir
3. Fatahul Kabir
4. Masfi Sharah Muta
5. Masva Sharah Muta
6. Hujjatul-lahilbaligha
7. Insaf-Fi-Bayan Sababul Ikhtalaf
8. Izalatul Khafain Khilafatulkhulafa
9. Qurratul Ain Fi Tafzilul Hasnain
10. Qurratul Ouin

11. Fayyuzul Harmain
12. Aldarul Samen-Fil-Mubashshrate Nabi Karim
13. Tawilul Ahadis
14. Atfasul Arifin
15. Sharah Rubaiyaten
16. Sataat
17. Intabah-fi-Salasil Aulia Allah
18. Chahal Hadis.

*****

# CHAPTER - II

## SHAH WALIULLAH'S EPISTEMOLOGY

There are many sources of knowledge and the philosophers are divided regarding the authority of these sources. Some are of the view that the reason is the only criterion or the source of knowledge, and others believe in the authority of sense experience as a source of knowledge. To begin with the discussion, we should refer to the Rationalist philosophers like Descartes, Spinoza and Leibnitz who believed in the authority of reason, but contrary to them are the Empiricists establishing the authority of the sense experience. Empiricists such as Locke, Berkeley, and Hume are the precursors of this school. It was not so only in the west. The philosophers in the East and particularly the Muslim philosophers have also pondered over the problem. There too the epistemology begins with the authority of reason. To support our contention, we fall back upon Mutazilites. The Mutazilites, as we know, are rationalists, but we should not confuse them with the rationalists of the west, for they believed in the authority of reason as the source of knowledge

whereas the Mutazilites advocated to follow the dictates of reason as well as revelation. But it is a fact that Mutazilites gave primary importance to reason and secondary importance to revelation. The Asharites, on the contrary, emphasized on revelation. They gave primary importance to revelation and secondary importance to reason. Putting it in brief, the priority of reason and revelation over each other was the point of contention between Mutazilites and Asharites. Revelation has not been challenged by any school of Muslim philosophy, yet the place of reason has, of course, been overemphasized by the Mutazilites.

The perception is also a source of knowledge. Indian philosophers, particularly the Charvakas, have emphasized much on its importance. Similar is the case with empiricists who believe in the authority of sense experience. As we are aware, the five senses give us the different types of perception and each of them imparts a particular type of knowledge of particular things. In other words, we can say that each of the senses has its own span and it cannot give us the knowledge falling out of its area or into the span of another sense. Going ahead with it, we can say that all

the senses have a specific area of knowledge and beyond it they cannot probe in.

In this respect, as we have pointed out earlier, Shah Waliullah has reformed sufism. His epistemology is mainly a sufi epistemology. He has tried to explain the dispositions (Altaf). He is of the view that all the sources of knowledge help us in acquiring the knowledge, and it is therefore that he does not challenge the authority of any of the sources, but, together with this, he also holds that everyone of them has its own limitations. All that we know is a part of the truth and not the whole. He, however, emphasizes on intuitive knowledge, and it is for the reason that Shah Waliullah is a practical sufi and, being a sufi, intuition is held by him as the most important source of knowledge. We shall discuss it later on; at present it will suffice to say that Shah Waliullah believes in the presence of different dispositions in man which impart him the knowledge on different levels. The hidden power (sirr), a type of intuitive knowledge, is the highest source of knowledge and is used at the higher stages reached by a sufi. It is, therefore, that he emphasizes on the knowledge of dispositions (Altaf).

Knowledge of Dispositions :

At the outset of the discussion, let us point out that according to Shah Waliullah there are six dispositions in man, namely (1) Jawarih, a disposition which controls the five senses, (2) Heart (Qalb), a disposition which controls the emotions, (3) Reason (Aql), a disposition controlling the heart, (4) Hidden Power (Sirr) a disposition controlling the reason, (5) lower self or lower soul (Nafs), a disposition controlling animality, and (6) soul (Ruh), a disposition to impart the divine knowledge. He is of the view that, for a sufi, knowledge of these dispositions is a must. He explains his contention by giving the example of an old woman who, without knowing the characteristics of the medicine, prescribes it for others on the basis of her past experience. Thus the sufi uncognisant of the knowledge of these dispositions (altaf) is very much like that old woman. Contrary to this is a sufi having the knowledge of these dispositions. He can be compared with a physician being fully aware of the diagnosis, nature of the disease, its causes and its remedies. The latter is certainly better than the former.[1]

Apart from it, the knowledge of these dispositions helps

the sufi in the remembrance of God. Shah Waliullah, on this occasion, speaks of the two methods of remembrance (Zikr).[2] The first consists in the fact that the sufi learns little from his elders. He remembers God but does not proceed to a higher stage. The second method of remembrance is more beneficial, for it consists in the fact that the sufi has the knowledge of these dispositions (altaf) and remembers God with all comprehension of what goes about the knowledge of the things falling out of the span of the senses. As it is an established fact that the senses fail to impart this knowledge, what could be, then, the source for this. To many of the philosophers like Burgeson and Iqbal, it is intuition and to others like Shah Waliullah it is the dispositions (altaf). Some of these belong to the heart, some to the lever and others to the soul. We should not fail to mention here that the Shah does not defy the authority of testimony. He does believe in the authority of the holy Quran and the tradition, and considers them as the respository of knowledge. Besides, he speaks of the five kinds of knowledge, and for the attainment of each there is a source, way and method.[3]

At the outset of the discussion, it should be made clear that Shah Waliullah, in his epistemology, takes into

account the discipline of sufism (tasawwuf). Earlier, as we know, Ghazali has spoken of the path and discipline of sufism. He has made a great contribution in this direction, but as history witnesses, and particularly as in India, there was a decline of sufism (tasawwuf) in the 16th century. We call this a decline because people, in general, hardly understood it, but did follow just as fashion of the day. Shah Waliullah prescribes the knowledge of the dispositions as essential for the pursuit of the sufi course for it teaches the discipline and morality.

Having discussed the importance of the knowledge of the dispositions, the Shah comes to describe the sources of knowledge possessed by man. Reason and intuition have been recognized as the sources of knowledge by many philosophers in the East and West, but Shah Waliullah considers heart (qalb) also as the source of knowledge. It means to him that there are four sources of knowledge, namely (1) the soul (ruh), (2) the heart (qalb), (3) the reason (aql) and (4) the hidden power (sirr). He first takes up to explain the soul. As he says, the soul is something which, when leaves the body, makes it lifeless. There are three kinds of soul : (1) animal soul (nasma or ruhe-hawaiya) (2) rational soul (nafse-natiqa), and (3) angelic soul (ruhe-malakut).

We shall discuss them later on.[4]

Shah Waliullah points out the harms sustained by a sufi in the case of ignorance of these dispositions. The first one lies in the fact that weak senses cannot be strong. It sometimes so happens that one or the other disposition (latifah) of a sufi is strong and with its help he is able to pursue the course of sufism (tasawwuf), but the weak disposition hampers his way. The second harm of their ignorance is embodied in the fact that in the course of his journey (suluk), a sufi passes the stages of annihilation (fana) and subsistence (baqa) persistently, but as he does not have the knowledge of the dispositions (altaf), he is unable to understand anything and sees himself in the state of sheer consternation and complete bewilderment. There is yet another harm of the ignorance of these dispositions (altaf) that the sufi fails to understand the stages of the previous sufis or his predecessors, and considers their stage as the last or the final one or the goal of sufism.[5]

It is thus evident that the knowledge of the dispositions (altaf) is indispensible for many reasons. It is necessary for the training of the soul. It also helps the sufi in his preachings (irshad). Not only this

but, as the Shah says, the preachings (irshad) cannot be effective without the knowledge of the dispositions.

There are three stages of these dispositions. Firstly, they are controlled by the senses (jawarih). At this stage they obey the senses and follow all their habits. Consequently, they are at the animal stage (bahimiyat). The second stage is that they are controlled by heart and mind with all the attributes of morality. At this stage there can be alternatives, viz. (1) the senses will either be accomplished with the virtues, and in such case the animal soul and the lower senses will have no contradiction, or (2) the soul will not be virtuous. In such a case the animal soul will control them. In both the cases it will be the human soul. In its third stage both the animal soul and the lower self will be annihilated and thereby the soul will be angelic in character. The sufi must be aware of all these stages and should attempt at pursuing the highest one which is divine in its nature. It cannot be achieved unless he obtains the knowledge of these dispositions.

The Four Dispositions :

Having discussed the knowledge of the dispositions, we shall take up the senses (jawarih), heart (qalb),

reason (aql) and soul (ruh). As Shah Waliullah does not emphasize on the five senses (jawarih), we shall discuss the other dispositions in detail. However, it is indispensible for a sufi to purify the senses which will be mentioned afterwards.

Before describing the way of the purification of these dispositions, Shah Waliullah points out the difficulties arising out of the use of the terminology. He asserts that the meaning of the terms used should be clearly understood, but many of the sufis, as he thinks, do not understand their proper meaning and cannotation. It should, therefore, be pointed out as to what actually these terms like spirit (nafs), heart (qalb), reason (aql), soul (ruh), hidden power (sirr) mean. We use them to mean different things. It should, therefore, be pointed out as to what we specifically mean by them. He explains his contention by giving different meaning of same of these terms. Nafs, for example, is used to mean different things. Sometimes we use it to mean the source of life and thereby it becomes equivalent to the soul; sometimes we mean by it the nature of man demanding food and water; sometimes we mean by it the animality; and sometimes we use it to mean the evil. As we know, the nature of man commands his heart and mind and if it is perverted the

evil is born. It is this evil known as nafs. Similarly, the heart has also different implications. Sometimes we mean by it a bit of flesh in the body. Sometimes it is used to mean the power of comprehension (quwat-e-darraka); and sometimes we take it to mean the dispositions (emotions) of man such as anger, prudence, etc. In the same way, by reason we mean the power of knowing, but sometimes it is used to mean the soul and thus becomes a 'jauhar' (substance); somewhere else it is 'arz(attribute). The reason, however, is the power controlling the nature and heart of man. Thus, all these dispositions run throughout the body, but each of them has its root in different parts. The heart, for example, has its root in a bit of flesh, the lower soul (nafs) in the lever and reason (aql) in the mind. Similarly, the soul runs through the whole body, but actually the soul means the divine soul (ruhe-malakut) which was created many thousand years before its existence in the body. In the same way, hidden power (sirr) means the concealed. As the soul enjoys priority in the body, the hidden power, in the same way, is superior to reason. Its function lies in the fact that it should save the reason of the indulgence in the worldly affairs and induce it to the divine powers. Thus, the sufis often

confuse in the use of the terminology, and by using one they often mean the other, and also speak of its internality (batin). Explaining it he gives the example of the love the internalities of which are described by them as affection (ulfat), attachment (uns) which, as a matter of fact, are the attributes of the soul. In the same way, the belief (yaqin) which is actually concerned with heart is interpreted in many ways. Not only this but they also speak of its stages as ilmul-yaqin, Haqqul-yaqin, and ainul-yaqin. Shah Waliullah asserts that the sufis are not careful in the use of terminology, and it is therefore that the disciples are often confused and do not understand the correct and categorical implications of the terms. He, therefore, emphasizes on the clarity of the terminology and also wants the scholars to understand the real meaning of the terms used.[6]

The other three dispositions - the heart (qalb), the reason (aql), and the soul (ruh) - are internal dispositions. Shah Waliullah proves the existence of the three on the basis of traditions. In support of the existence of heart he cites the traditions proclaiming that (1) there is a bit of flesh in the body; when it is good, the whole body is good, and when it is bad, the whole body is bad. And this bit of flesh is heart.

(2) The heart in the body is like a leaf in the forest which is turned by the wind at the will of the Almighty. To prove the existence he quotes the tradition saying that (3) the soul desires and the body either fulfils or negates it. Regarding the reason the tradition says that (4) one possessing no reason has no religion either. The soul possesses three kinds of tendencies, namely (a) natural tendencies (quwa-e-tabaiya), (b) animal tendencies (quwa-e-haiwaniya), and (c) rational tendencies (quwa-e-idrakiya). The abode of the natural tendencies is the liver, the dwelling of the sensual or animal tendencies is the heart, and the seat of the rational tendencies is mind. The functions of these dispositions are different. The soul fulfils the needs of the body. It desires all that is good for the body and secures it from what is needed for it. All the sensual desires, biological in nature, belong to the lower soul and in order to detach it from the desires an intense prayer is needed. The function of the heart is related to the emotions and feelings like that of fear, anger, hatred, generosity and misery, etc. Everyone of us is aware of the fact that when someone is angry, his heart is affected and it is known through his facial expression. Similar is the condition of the

heart, when a man finds himself in the state of fear. The function of reason is to consider the present and make efforts of the future.[7]

All these three dispositions are one in one sense and different in another. Shah Waliullah first takes up the difference. In explaining it he describes the position of the soul. He holds that it is embodied in the matter, having different senses and tendencies. The soul controls them. It sometimes fails to control the strong tendencies are strong, man is unable to understand anything. His heart and mind (aql) become helpless. Such a man is guided by his natural tendencies and can be compared with vegetation and plants having no reason. Contrary to him is the man who is guided by his heart alone. He remains in the state of feelings and emotions like that of anger, fear, shamefulness, braveness, etc. Such a man can be compared with animals. Superior to all is the man guided by his reason. He utilizes the capacity of recollection and remembrance and makes efforts for the future. He can be compared with the lower angels (mala-e-safil). The study of man supports the contention. We find man in different stages described above. Thus it is evident that there is a difference, so far dispositions (altaf) are concerned.[8]

Having described the difference, he takes up the similarity between these three dispositions. They are one in the sense that all of them belong to the soul and that, for a full coordination, they obey each other. Explaining it, he says that the soul obeys the heart, for without its help there cannot be any sensation. The heart obeys the reason, for it warns the heart about the forthcoming dangers and helps create the feelings of love, abhorrence, fear, anger, etc. The reason obeys the heart because the senses belonging to the heart confirm the beliefs of the reason and unless they are certified by them, they cannot be taken as ture. The heart and the reason obey the soul, for it is supreme in the body and possesses and controls all the tendencies and desires. Thus, these three internal dispositions, even after being independent of each other, work in coordination.

Shah Waliullah points out that all these dispositions are separate entities but there exists a coordination between them. In other words, in spite of there being separate they are united. Explaining it he asserts that the heart and the soul are separate from one another, yet they are united. Speaking of their relation, he gives the example of a bow made of horn and wood. Each of them has its own qualities; the horn, for instance, melts when it is set on fire. Its melting

also affects the wood and it becomes crooked. The coldness affects the wood and it is contracted. Its contraction also affects the horn. Thus, it is evident that the horn and the wood in the bow, in spite of having different natures, are affected by each other. In the same way, the heart and the soul being separate are related with each other, and are influenced by each other in the manner described in the example. By giving this example, Shah Waliullah wants to suggest that the attribute of one should not confusingly be ascribed to the other, and the sufis particularly should be careful in this regard. It is also explained by another example of mercury which is a compound of water and silver. It owes its floating nature to the water and hardness to the silver. Taking it as a compound of the two, if someone puts a silver coin into water and desires to get the same result, he can never get it. It is because of the fact that, in mercury, the water and silver are united in a way that it becomes a new thing and acquires different qualities having them from the two. Man, in the same way, is a composite of different elements. Each of these elements works in integrity with the others, and there is no difference in the deeds of man, as all of them are the unity of the same elements. It is, therefore, that man by his nature is one and performs similar kinds of deeds, and there

is, in this respect, no difference between a sufi and a common man. But, as we know, there are, in other respects, some differences between the two which will be taken up later.[9]

Limitations of the Dispositions :

Having discussed the dispositions of man, Shah Waliullah also points out that there are certain limitations of them. For example, the external senses have a particular domain of perception - vision and auditory, etc; can only perceive colours, shapes, quantities, and sounds, etc. Thus, each of these external senses (jawarih) have their own limits of perception, and none of them can perceive anything beyond their limits. Explaining it, he gives the example that if we want to perceive anger or hunger with the help of our eyes, we will conclude that if at all they exist they are attributed with some colour such as red, green, etc., or else they do not exist. He undoubtedly means to point out that the sense of sight cannot perceive these things like anger or hunger because they fall out of the domain of its perception. Here lies the error of perceiving something from the sense not related to its perception or unable for its perception. Any such effort would either lead the

perceiver to deny the existence of such things or to prove the opposite existence. In either case he is wrong, for he has made a wrong effort. Thus, he philosophically contends that no external sense can perceive beyond the domain of its perception. In the same way, the internal senses like imagination (khayal), fancy (wahma) and willing (mutasarrifa) have also their own domains of perception, and like the external senses they also cannot perceive beyond their domains. And any such attempt of perceiving anything from an internal sense, not including its domain will again lead to naught. For example, if the abstract (majarrad) is perceived from the internal senses, it would mean that it does not exist for it, for if it does, it must exist in anyone of the seven directions which, as we know, does not fall in anyone of them. The wise people are aware that in such a case the non-existent (ghaib) is taken to be existent (hazir) which is an error. In the case of external senses, the error is committed by perceiving the evident (shahid) as unevident (ghaib).[10]

Similarly, Shah Waliullah speaks of the reason (aql). According to him, it also has its own limitations and cannot comprehend anything that lies beyond its domain. The persons who rely on reason commit a mistake by attempting

at comprehending with its help which does not lie in its perview. It is therefore that they are puzzled, and to solve the problem they try to understand that lying beyond its domain by way of simile with the one's lying in its domain of comprehension. But such an attempt leads them to nothing but complications, and if at all they are convinced of something to be similar with another, they contradict their own faith when they contend about its existence and similarity with some material object (maqul) for the reason that the other repudiates their arguments and they again find themselves in the midst of darkness, and once again they try to find out its similarity with some other material object which contradicts their previous faith or often rejects it. In either of the cases darkness alone is their fate. Thus, he is of the view that reason, is the interpreter of the divine soul. It can only understand what exists between the matter and the soul. Regarding the atheists, Shah Waliullah has a bad opinion and condemns them to the last extent by calling them worse than dogs. There is, of course, no doubt that it is a highly subjective view, but whatever he says about the limitations of reason (aql) is something thought provoking and we are reminded of many of the eastern and western

philosophers who doubt the reliability of reason regarding the matters concerning with the transcendental world. Ghazali, Rumi and Iqbal, in Muslim philosophy, may be mentioned in particular. They, as we know, do not believe in the priority of reason over revelation. Ghazali emphasizes on revelation and kashf. For the knowledge of the non-material world. Rumi and Iqbal believe in the priority of intuition and importance of Ishq (love) for its comprehension. In the Western philosophers Kant, Burgson and others also take reason as incapable of understanding the reality in itself. We have mentioned them to prove that Shah Waliullah is one of them who give reason its due place.[10 (a)]

Having described the incapability of reason, Shah Waliullah also speaks of its domain. Being the interpreter of the divine soul the reason must comprehend that present in the nature of the soul. Explaining it he asserts that the soul is neither mere abstraction (mujarrad) nor material (kharij). It is related to matter, for it is embodied in it. It is related to the abstract, for it comes from it. The reason is capable of comprehending the qualities of the material objects. It also has the capacity to understand the diversity by seeing the different individuals, and the unity as well again by seeing them. With the help of perceiving

the difference of voice and complexion the reason perceives diversity and by taking them all as individuals it sees the unity. By perceiving the form of the individual it can also perceive the form of man lying in the world of forms. It can also understand the other creatures like animals and vegetation by finding out some similarities and differences between them and the human beings. By perceiving the different forms it can also distinguish one from the other. Each of these forms perceived in the material world has its opposite in the world of forms. He calls them opposites as one is material and the other is abstract. The reason perceives the opposites and many of these opposite abstract forms have not revealed themselves in the matter. They are mere attributes but the attributes (arz) and the bodies (jawarih) are related with one another. The reason perceives that relation. It also perceives the relation of reality with the attributes and the matter. In these opposites some of them are difficult to understand but the reason includes some of them in the domain of its perception. The time or continuity is one of them which exists so long as its opposite exists meaning thereby the existence of the form of time in the world of forms. The reason comprehendsn it as it is perceived

in the existent (mumtaniat). The other one of them is imperceivable. The reason should comprehend its form and becomes the source of obedience to the true commands (ahkame sadiqa). In the form of imperceivable and its true commands there is again a contradiction which lies in the fact that which is imperceivable cannot be perceived, but the reason conceives its rational form. The wisdom lies in the fact that the reason should understand that it has determined its form which otherwise is indetermined. Explaining it he gives the example of a man wearing green glasses. Although he sees everything as green, yet he does not take themselves as he knows that the greenness perceived in the object is not its quality but he perceives it due to his glasses. In the same way say the reason should comprehend that the imperceivable determinate is not the one lying as indeterminate. In such a case the reason will never be deviated. The image of the form of imperceivable which represents the real imperceivable should not actually be taken as its true representation. Thus the reason is that power which perceives the existent (maqulat) lying between the object and the spirit. It is the power which comprehends the reality of things in general but reality of some of them is concealed from it. In the comprehension of things it takes help from the power of understanding

(mudrika) and willing (mutasarrifa). The essence of reason is hidden power (sirr). It takes its help when it is united with divine light (tajalliy-e-azam) or the world of higher angles (Mala-e-ala), for without the help of sirr, the reason cannot comprehend them, and when the comprehension of unity is made sirr becomes the eye, the ear and the soul, meaning thereby that all the organs of a man are united with the divine light (tajalliy-e-azam) and the world of higher angels (mala-e-ala) and he himself becomes divine.[10 (b)]

Distinction Between Aql and Zauq :

In the above passage we have already referred to sirr, however, before discussing sirr in detail, we shall take up the confusion between aql (reason) and zauq which has been clarified by Shah Waliullah.

According to the Shah, those who use zauq to mean the reason (aql) are wrong as both of the terms are different by their meanings. It is clear then that one should not be used for the other. He defines zauq as a power which perceives the object in its presence. The existing objects are the part of the reality and being the part they come from the whole (ajza-e-ula). Having perceived the qualities of the existent (hazir) we try to find them out in the non-existent (ghaib) but the like is not seen in it. Here comes sirr for

our help which is present in every existent as an image of the qualities and is perceived as these attributes. The reason perceives all these attributes separately and comprehends the difference of their meanings. Some of these qualities are contradictary, and here the reason fails, for it cannot resolve the contradiction. Shah Waliullah considers it as an error or reason (aql), for to him it lies in the domain of perception of zauq. The apparent contradiction comes from the senses (hassa). Thus it should be taken as the error of the senses. Explaining it he gives the example of a squint-eyed person who sees one thing as two, and being aware of his defect he takes the two as one. The reason is also responsible for this duality, for it should perceive all the existents (zahir) as separate entities.

Having spoken of the error of seeing the difference of the two Shah Waliullah takes up to criticize the view of Wahadat-ul-wujud. The followers of Wahdatul wujud pronounce 'hama ust' and even after pronouncing it they try to understand the difference between man and God and that too on the basis of qualities. This leads them to naught and they are left in bewilderment. Shah Waliullah points out their mistake. On one hand they are unable to understand the relation between the human beings and the external objects, and on the other

they fail to understand the relation between the external objects and the pure (God). In reference to the first he points out that manifestation is a relation between the appearing (zahir) and the appeared (mazhar). This relation is different from other relations. Penetrating into the nature of the relation he concludes that the appearing and the appeared are not alike. For example, man and the form of man are not alike. Had they been alike, all the individuals would have been the same. But they are neither different from one another because if they had been different, no two individual would have been alike. As there is resemblance between man and animal, between animal and plant, between plant and inanimate beings, so there is resemblance between man and man. Thus, for Shah Waliullah, all of them are related with each other and share the quality of one another, and all of them are subject to change. Thus, there is a hierarchy ending on the universal soul. It is suggestive of the fact that the universal soul is related to the world and this relation is the nature of manifestation. The reason fails to understand the opposite qualities possessed by the objects. It is unable to understand that if all the objects are related to one, there should, then, be no opposites.

And if opposites exist in the determinate, one cannot be their existence. To understand, he points out that we shall have to accept the hierarchy of relations to be explained later. In the first case, that is to say, considering the objects a sum total of opposites we shall infer no unity, and if, in the second case, we deny the unity we shall fail to understand the source of their existence. Repeating the argument the asserts that the less wise people try to find out likeness or the relation on the basis of common and essential qualities. But when they perceive the opposite they are taken aback and for saking the previous belief from another. Even that one is shattered when they are confronted with the opposites. He explains it by asserting that apart from the similarity (aiyniyat) and difference (ghairyat) there is yet another relation which is established in addition to these two and stands on par. Supporting it he argues that the particular qualities of something do not make a thing what it is. In support of his argument he gives the example of short staturedness, stammering and blackness of the skin. All these qualities do exist in an individual man but they do not go to make him a man, for without them as well man does exist. Thus the source of human existence, universal soul, is devoid of all such qualities which are taken as common and

essential qualities of man. He again puts forward a forceful argument saying that the applying (itlaq) and the applied (mutlaqiya) cannot be one and the same as, for example, the form of man is not man, the part is not the whole, and the world in existence is not the universal soul, although it is true the form of man is present in man, the whole is present in part, and the universal soul is present in the world. In this way, in order to understand the phenomena of opposites we shall have to consider the universal soul as devoid of them. It undoubtedly possesses the capacity of manifestation in the objects of the world. It is then essential that the applying (nafs-e-kulliah) must posses what is applied (Kayanat).[12]

Forms of Intuitive Knowledge :

We have discussed the place of reason in Shah Waliullah's epistemology but, as we are aware that he is a practicing sufi he, therefore, emphasizes on the importance of intuitive knowledge which has the forms namely meditation (Kashf), contemplation (Ilham), maraqaba, gnosis (marifat) and revelation (wahi). It will be worthwhile to mention here that the sufis in general have a faith in intuitive knowledge. It does not mean that they defy the authority of senses and reason as the sources of knowledge. It only means that they give priority to intuition over reason and to reason over the

senses. Shah Waliullah believes in all these forms and holds that each one of them is related to a particular stage achieved by a traveller (salik) in the sufi course (suluk). But, revelation in particular is meant for the prophets only. Along with these forms Shah Waliullah believes in the hidden power (sirr) which is also a form of intuitive knowledge. But, as Shah Waliullah describes, it belongs to the higher elements of the soul. It is, therefore, indispensible for us to discuss the soul so that we may explain it in a proper way.

Categories of Soul :

Shah Waliullah speaks of different categories of soul which we shall discuss in the following passages. We shall first of all take up animal, rational, and angelic souls.

1. The animal soul (nasma or ruhe-hawai) is created out of the temperature of the elements. It controls the digestion (ghiza), helps growth (numu) and understanding (idrak).

2. After the animal soul, Shah Waliullah speaks of the rational or human soul (nafs-e-natiqa). Defining it he says that it is the one which collects different elements from outside and gives them a new form of discipline. Explaining it he gives the example of a seed which, when sown, loses

its entity by manifesting itself in a tree. Thus, it runs through the whole of it, though it exists nowhere in the tree in its original form. The same is true regarding the process of creation in all species. The soul which collects the different elements through five senses to give them a systematic form is the human soul. Its chief characteristic, as it has been described, is to collect, compare and combine the different elements. And it combines them in a way that even after death they live together for a long time and not only this but they also keep on possessing the acquired attributes and morality and other habits related to the senses and mind such as hearing, thinking, willing, etc.

3. The third kind of soul is angelic soul (ruh-e-malakut). Defining it, Shah Waliullah says that the universal soul admits all the forms which are about to come into existence in future and these forms of the universal soul are embodied in the human beings. God plans it long before it is done. Putting it in brief, we can say that angelic soul (ruh-e-malakut) in man is the form of universal soul. It is embodied in man and, with its help, man rises to 'khatirat-ul-quds' where he sees either in the form of a black point or that of a white point, namely either in 'sijjin'

or 'illiyin'. Like other elements the angelic soul also has its characteristics. Its chief characteristic is that in 'Khadirat-ul-quds' it converses with the divine soul and possesses the capacity or discoursing with angels in the world of angels (mala-e-ala). Every angelic soul has its own status and attributes and, in accordance with them, it converses with the angels of his status. However, with the attribute of discourse it dwells in the realm of animal soul (ruh-e-hawai) and becomes one with it. Explaining this unity, the Shah gives the example of mercury which contains water and silver as elements and they cannot be operated from each other. Each of the elements helps in shaping its character. The silver, for example, gives it glaring, and its mercuriosity is because of the elements of mercury. To put in brief, he means that all the elements of the soul are united and in accordance with them, each man possesses certain characteristics which originally belong to anyone of them. The human soul possesses the quality of receiving the knowledge from the angels and by annihilating itself into the universal soul (nafs-e-kulliyah) it gets the secrets of the world. The universal and the human souls have created the five senses and other sources of knowledge like heart, reason and intuition.

The liver is the centre of sex, the heart is the power which possesses moral and other capacities, the mind is the power which has the capacity of probing into the things. The senses correspond to animal soul, the reason corresponds to rational soul (nafs-e-natiqa) and the heart corresponds to the divine soul (Nafs-e-samavi). Thus the senses, the reason, and the heart are the powers of the human soul. The most important of them is heart, and it is therefore that the sufis call it as the human disposition (latifa-e-insani). It is the power of the human soul and the reason is its tongue. When the traveller (salik) disengages himself from the senses, his heart becomes his woul and his reason becomes his mysterious power (sirr). Thus the soul is a composite of the senses, reason and divinity. Pointing out the difference between the reason (aql) and the mysterious power (sirr), the Shah holds that reason is the power of the soul, it dwells in the mind and admits the influence and the other two higher elements of the soul, namely the rational soul (nafs-e-natiqa) and the heavenly soul (ruh-e-samavi). The mysterious power (sirr) belongs to the higher elements of the soul, and it is therefore that the reason is higher than the heart and the hidden power (sirr) than the reason (aql). In this way, in

the hierarchy, the mysterious power (sirr) is on the top. In accordance with their place these powers have different capacities. The heart is capable of receiving the ecstasy, the soul has the capacity of love, the reason is endowed with the capacity of belief and the intuition is gifted with the capacity of observation. Thus, there is a difference in the status of each of them. The traveller (salik) having annihilated himself from the sensual soul is either attracted towards world of angels, and therefore subsists again with a new spiritual life or he is annihilated in his own self (ananyat-e-kubra) and when subsists again, finds himself in the universal self (vilayat-e-kubra) or he is annihilated in both his individual self and universal self. There is, of course, the difference of the stages. Shah Waliullah considers himself in the last described stage. In this way he describes the different sources of knowledge possessed by the individual.[13]

Secret Dispositions :

Having described the internal dispositions and the categories of soul, we shall now discuss the secret dispositions (lataif-e-khufiah) which, as he thinks, are realized and comprehended by some only. He holds and categorically declares that the utility of the secret dispositions is for

those who have trained and purified their internal and external senses. To begin with, the Shah explains the divine soul (ruh-e-alvi) as one of the secret dispositions. To make it explicit he takes up to define it saying that the divine soul is the unity of two souls namely, the rational soul (nafs-e-natiqa) and anyone of the other souls such as the mineral soul (nafs-e-madani), vegetative soul (nafs-e-nabatiya), animal soul, angelic soul, or devilish soul - all of them are animated from the universal soul (nafs-e-kulliah). And, thus the divine soul, here described as the secret dispositions, also comes from the universal soul. The Shah speaks of the animation of souls and considers the heavenly soul (nafs-e-falakiya) as the first animated from the universal soul, and the perfect soul (nafs-e-kamila) as the last animated soul, and also admits that both of them, the first and the last, are equally in proximity with the universal soul, though they are distant from each other. The divine soul, however, is a composite of the two mentioned above. The universal soul manifests itself in every soul and each one of them is more developed than the other. Thus he speaks of the evolution of the soul. He begins to describe it by defining the vegetative soul.[14]

When the souls have come into existence, the material

world (Kainat-e-Jawiya) proceeded from it. To him it was the result of the disposition of the elements in a totality. Due to the unity of these elements there came into being a grace (faiz) with particular common and essential qualities. The common ones were the elements of the existence of the separate entities and essential ones ran through all of them and this essential (hukum) in the primary form is the vegetative soul. Thus, the plant life spread over the world and thereafter the universal soul (nafs-e-kulliya) once again manifested itself and the new manifestation resulted into another existence, namely the higher kind of vegetative soul which ran through the matter composing vegetation. After the animal life, keeping in view the universal expediency (maslihat-e-kulli), the universal soul again manifested itself into yet another form and that was the animal soul, the highest of all in the hierarchy of animals. The manifestation resulted into the existence of lower self (nafs), reason (aql), and heart (qalb). Thereafter, the universal soul put up another garb and manifested itself into human soul which in its essential feature resembles the universal soul, and it is due to this fact that the human soul is capable of obtaining knowledge and passing through different stages. The matter into which the human soul manifested

itself is one but its manifestations divided into grades and each of them became as species by itself. Thus, man being one of the manifestations is one of the species by itself. But, higher than man in general is the perfect man who by himself is a distinguished species simply on the basis of the reason, distinguishing man from the animal. Thus, even in the species of man, Shah Waliullah makes a category of the perfect man whose soul is in proximity with the universal soul. Alongwith this the perfect man also shares the divine ego (ananiyat-e-kubra) and in this way the soul of the perfect man is the element of the universal soul, i.e. nafs-e-juzviya, and the universal soul (nafs-e-kulliya) being divine in its essence makes the soul of the perfect man also divine.[15]

Having described the first, Shah Waliullah comes to describe the second one and that is the world soul (nafs-e-samavi). It also comes from the universal soul (nafs-e-kulliya) and runs through all the objects of the world. The existence of this soul follows the existence of the world and the first one of them is the world of forms (alam-e-misal) where the forms of the objects rest. All of them had been created long before the creation of the objects. Discussing the importance of the forms, he argues that man, for example, is not totality as none of his species in the world equals

him in the matter of face complexion, and it is distinguished because of the form of every man present in the world of forms. And man is seen in totality because everyone shares the same which runs through all. All these forms of men are attracted towards the divine light present in the universal soul, and the human soul being in proximity with the universal soul shares this light and is thereby attracted towards it. Thus, the divine soul is a unity of the two, namely the human soul and the world soul. The human soul is its matter and the world soul is its form. As a matter of fact, both the souls, viz. the human and the world souls are forms and none of them is matter, but the first one becomes the matter because the latter brings it into existence. Explaining it, he gives the example of a painter, who has an idea or form in his mind and that idea creates the other forms seen in the world of objects. Thus the lower form is matter for the one manifesting itself in it. Here, Shah Waliullah postulates that his thought might suggest that the existence is either subjective (zehni) or objective (kharji), but he denies any of these possibilities. It is neither of the two. But, to him, the existence of the world is one to have come into being due to the universal expediency, and it demands many more of which it is only a part. Explaining it, he again comes to the

analogy of the painter who, with the help of his idea in his mind, gives it different forms and brings into the shape he desires which becomes the reflection of the same in his mind. In the same way, God, the absolute, changed the human soul into many stages and finally created the one called the human soul. It is therefore that the form is prior to the body (hayula). Here, the Shah seems to echo Aristotle who, inspite of admitting the inseparability of form and matter for existence, conceives from to be prior to matter, and also presents the different categories of soul. The form, according to Shah Waliullah, being divine in essence, possesses the divine light, and the person who attains gnosis is therefore first attracted towards the divine light and later on is induced to the absolute ego (ananiyat-e-mutlaqa).[16]

Proceeding on with tho discussion of the divine soul, the Shah holds that the soul possesses its own spirit in the form of a point known as 'hajr-e-bahat'. The soul is its body. It means that the essence of the soul is that point. Explaining its nature, the Shah asserts that the point is pure in itself. The pure manifests its essence in it but does not lose its purity. The one who attains gnosis realizes in him the existence of that point and it determines his stage.

Shah Waliullah here speaks of the possibility of three stages. He will either be respectful, intoxicated, or pure consciousness (shaw-e-bahat). In case of his being respectful the point will be mixed with his soul in the way as the water and silver are mixed in the mercury. In the case of his being intoxicated, the point will be different from the exact nature and all his senses will be lost in it. In case of his being pure consciousness, none of his senses will dominate the other. It means that each of his senses will work independently but in coordination with each other. It also suggests that none of these senses will function against nature, and nature, as contended by Shah Waliullah, is good.[17]

Having described its nature and the stages of gnosis attained with its help, Shah Waliullah takes up to criticize the Christians. In his opinion, the Christ presented in the Bible the view of the 'unity in trinity' by visualising the different stages of that point. The first of them was told by him as 'ab' (the father) which is the essence of God (nuqta-e-zat). He called the second as 'ibn' (the son) which is the universal soul (nafs-e-kulliya), and the third he names as the Holy Ghost (ruhulquda) which is the great divine light (tajalliy-e-azam) resting in 'khatirat-ul-quds'. As the Shah thinks, his people mistook his teachings and

understood him wrongly. As a consequence to this, they believed him to be the son of God. Shah Waliullah, however, does not argue much on this subject and leaves it rather unattended. He proceeds by saying that the Quran cleared off these misconceptions and thus proves the importance of the holy Quran. In this way, Shah Waliullah is of the view that the reality is composed of these three, i.e. the pure essence, the universal soul, and the divine light (tajalliy-e-azam).[18]

The commands (ahkam) to the secret senses are based on these three parts of the reality. The one who attains gnosis begins his journey from 'vilayat-e-sughra', as explained by Sheikh Junaid. During the course of his journey he either follows the heavenly soul (ruh-e-samavi) and due to its obedience he is attracted to wards the divine light. Here, the point mentioned as 'hajr-e-bahat' is united with the pure and then the 'arif' visualises the unexplainable and indescribable elements, for if it is called the observation it is not so, and if perception it also stands apart. As the Shah puts, it is like the vision of which the seer is fully aware but cannot interpret. In the second stage, the 'arif' obeys the rational soul (nafs-e-natiqa). In it the soul of the individual is lost in the whole and becomes individual meaning thereby that there remains no distinction of the part

and the whole. We can call it the stage of complete annihilation but, any, the arif is conscious and it is here that he knows the reality with the help of the cognition. Here again, he comes across two stages, namely (1) on the basis of the knowledge, he understands the distinction between him and the absolute and understands the objective existence with its internal and external qualities and (2) in the second stage, his knowledge leads him to realize that only the absolute exists and the existence other than He follows from Him. Here again, he comes across two stages, namely (1) he either makes no distinction between the absolute ego (ananiyat-e-mutlaqa) and his own ego (ananiyat-e-khas). Contrary to this, he takes his own ego as the absolute ego. (2) He recognizes the absolute ego as separate from his own self. In the sufi terminology, such a realization is known as the realization of his own self (tajalliy-e-zat). In case of the 'arif', the universal soul (nafs-e-kulliya) is the goal and from here he rises to the pure and knows the secrets of the divinity. This stage is known as 'vilayat-e-kubra'.[19]

Be it either 'vilayat-e-sughra' or 'vilayat-e-kubra', the fact remains as that the divine soul (ruh-e-alavi) dominates all the three, namely the human soul, the world soul, and the 'hajr-e-bahat'. The last of all, as enveloped

by the divine soul, remains concealed, and its essence and purity arenot always revealed. Explaining it, he gives the example of a cloth wrapped with cotton. In such a case the cleanliness of the cloth will be concealed, and so is the case with 'hajr-e-bahat', but as there exists difference between the two the cloth cannot glarify itself but the latter can, and so it sometimes reveals itself from the veil that covers it. Such an arif, whichever of the two paths he might have chosen to travel, has the knowledge from two sources, namely (1) the great divinelight (tajalliy-e-azam), and (2) from the universal soul (nafs-e-kulliya). Both of them lie outside his body and he attains knowledge with their help. In such a state, all other senses are dominated by 'Hajr-e-bahat' and the arif explicitly understands the difference between the knowledge gained by the aforesaid sources. In the first state of knowledge, the objects are seen in multiplicity. It is here that all the senses are awakened and distinguished. As the divine soul consists of the two, namely the rational soul (nafs-e-natiqa) and the heavenly soul (nafse-samavi), in case the heavenly soul dominates the divine soul and the 'hajr-e-bahat' remains unveiled, it is called the 'nur-ulquds', and if the rational soul dominates the divine soul and 'hajr-e-bahat' remains concealed it is

called the 'secret disposition' (latifa-e-khufia). Thus, we see that the 'secret disposition' emerges out of his thought as a mystic concept with the dimensions of meanings. There is yet another possibility that the 'hajr-e-bahat' may dominate the divine soul and this is called 'akhfi', the hidden. In this way, there are three stages, namely 'the nurulquds' (divine light), 'latifa-e-khufia' (the secret disposition), and the 'akhfi'(the hidden).[20]

The journey of the arif does not end here. It continues, but only the few reach the stage described above.

Having described it, Shah Waliullah takes up to discuss the annihilation of the spiritual existence (fana-e-wajud-ruhani) and the subsistence in world of 'Lahut'. To him, the dominance of either the divine light (nurul-quds), the secret disposition or the hidden power becomes annihilation in the spiritual existence or the subsistence in the world of 'Lahut'. Here, Shah Waliullah points out that whatever the arif is, the adumberation and the reality stand apart. We find here an echo of 'shahudiyat' which we have discussed in detail in his metaphysics. From the point of view of epistemology it should be borne in mind that Shah Waliullah understands this world and whatever the arif visualises is

information, and the informer still remains at par. It means that the bestower of knowledge (God) is not within the reach on any human being, howsoever great sufi or arif he may be.

Going ahead with the discussion, the Shah asserts that apart from the form of man there are many other forms, and the qualities of man are shared by other objects as well. To him, it has been so designed that man's reason should be able to see the opposites. And it is the universal soul which manifests itself in different garbs. The function of the reason is to see the objects with the help of the opposites.[21]

تعرف الاشياء باضدادها

Putting it in brief, it is the universal soul seen everywhere. Nothing other than this exists, though it does not manifest itself into new things and new conditions yet it has the capacity. The reason may not be able to understand it but the sufis with a gnosis do understand that all is the universal soul, all is from it, and it is in all. Their reason comprehends it and realizes the reality.

Pleading the unitism, the Shah holds that the philosophers have not thought of a reality lying between the substance and the attributes. Contrary to this, they thought of it as non-existent, for their reason could not understand it. To him, it stands as fact that there is one reality which adds

expresses itself in the substance and at others in the attributes. Thus, it is this reality which establishes a relation between the two. Yet it is neither of them. The essence of substance is in the world of forms, and attributes of substance in the mind (wahima). The idea of a thing in mind is true because it is applied on the things in the material world. The application is caused by a relation between the source (mabda) and the existence (mubde) but that relation is not seen. It is because of this fact that the philosophers rejected any such relation as it is neither seen in itself nor with the help of other things, meaning thereby it is neither self-evident nor proved otherwise. But Shah Waliullah is of the view that such a relation does exist, but it is neither in space so as to prove with the help of matter nor in time which could be understood in relation of before and after. It is the source and exists by itself prior to any proof or evidence.[22]

The source envelops the existence and when the wise people see it enveloped, they are astonished and try to do away with their astonishment with the hlp of their reason. They try to understand with the help of the image they have formed in their mind. Sometimes they consider it as an attribute and at others they take it as an evidence, but the

reason fails to grasp it and their confusion remains as it was. Shah Waliullah, as regard to the essence of the source (ibda), says that it is substance nor attribute, nor manifestation. It transcends all of them. Those who advocated 'wahdat-ul-wujud' or unitism could perceive only the universal soul and saw it running through or immanent in the existence, and thus reduced the diversity into unity by considering it as the manifestation of the unity. But they were wrong to consider the universal soul as the source of existence. It, as a matter of fact, transcends the universal soul (nafs-e-kulliya) as well, and it is the source where lies the unity; but the followers of unitism could not reach it. Apart from them, there was another group of sufis who, with the help of their meditation, realized the pure (God), but in the interpretation and explanation they blended the facts with each other in a way that which is which could not be discerned. This blending and confusion, as Shah Waliullah points out, has been the weakness of sufis.[95]

The blending and confusion have already been discussed in reference to soul (ruh) and hidden power (sirr). Shah Waliullah also does not repeat it here. Proceeding with the other group of the sufis mentioned above, he pointed out that with the help of ecstasy (wijdan) they attempted at

comprehending the reality of things. Having reached the pure (zat-e-bahat) they inferred that there is only one existence known with different names. When we see it reflected in the things we name it existence continuum (wujud-e-mumbasit) and when it is known as reflecting it is known as pure (zat-e-bahat). Those who had the gnosis through the path of divine light (tajalliy-e-azam) differed from them. Shah Waliullah, in the conclusion of the discussion speaks of his own view. He is of the opinion that the reflection or adumberation seen through the divine light (tajalliy-e-azam) is one aspect of the Reality but the scholars of Shariah and those of logic cannot interpret the Reality any more. It means that the Reality remains uninterpreted and unexplained. Whatever has been said of it, is the part of the Truth.[24]

<u>Virtues and Vices</u> :

Having described the soul and its categories we shall now take up virtues and vices which depend on the purification and perversion of these dispositions. If purified, man leads a virtuous life and all the four important virtues - namely (1) purity (taharat), (2) attention to God (khuzu), (3) attachment (samahat), and (4) justice (adalat) - are created; and if perverted, man leads a vicious life. It is therefore, indispensible to purify these dispositions. It

becomes more essential for virtuous life is the nature of man. But, before discussing the purification we deem it necessary to discuss the virtues and vices so as to emphasize on the necessity of the purification of the dispositions.[25]

These dispositions teach us morality. They create in us many capacities, and if any of them is polluted, we become immoral. If the soul becomes perverted and the reason and the heart obey it, man takes delight in the pleasure of flesh and bones. The perverted soul is called the sensual or the animal soul. If the heart becomes perverted, and the reason and the soul obey it man does the emotional deeds. He, for example, is tempted to wrestle; the soul helps him by giving power. Likewise, he does other deeds, immoral in character, and the soul empowers him to do them. The perverted heart is called the profane soul (nafs-e-sabai). Explaining it, Shah Waliullah gives the example of a man in love with a woman. The heart intensifies his love, the soul induces him to have sexual relations with her, and the reason adores hear by remembering her beauty and charm. Similar is the case with other pleasures. This is all in the case of perversion. The reason in this state becomes helpless. It is unable to direct or instruct the soul and the heart. A man in the state of anger, for example, forgets everything.

He is not then guided by his reason. Thus, in order to be virtuous and moral, it is essential to know the state of perversion of these dispositions - the heart, the soul, and the reason. The natural tendencies belong to the liver and are controlled by the soul. The perverted state of soul, the sensual or the animal soul, like the good one, runs through the whole body; the perverted heart called as the profane soul also runs through the whole body. In the same way, the contented soul (nafs-e-mutmainna) also runs through the whole body. Contented soul is one guiding the soul and the heart. Its roots are in the mind. The roots of the sensual soul lie in the soul, and that of profane soul in the heart. Thus, it means that the man should be aware of the perverted states of these dispositions, and in the case of ignorance he becomes the victim of incurable diseases which often haunt the human beings and make them immoral. The worst of them is the pleasure of the flesh which attracts man to the extent that he draws everything to the oblivion. His reason fails to guide him, even in the old age, when he loses all his capacities, he is tempted towards them. It is thus, again, made explicit that these dispositions should be trained in proper way, that is, man should be aware of the perversions and should not allow them to enter the dispositions.

PURIFICATION OF THE DISPOSITIONS :
Importance of Shariah :

Now comes the question as to how the perversions can be stopped. The answer to this question is simple. The Shah holds that man has been endowed with two kinds of tendencies, namely the animal or sensual tendencies (quwat-e-bahimiya) and the angelic or divine tendencies (quwat-e-malakiya). It is evident that all these three dispositions should obey the angelic tendencies and suppress the sensual ones. It is the only way to train them. The Shah here points out that all these dispositions are different, having different souls (nufus). It is, therefore, evident that their training should also be different. The traveller (salik) must be aware of them. In case of ignorance he is bewildered and consternated. Having discussed it, Shah Waliullah takes up to explain the training of the five senses (jawarih) and that of the dispositions (altaf).[26]

In order to train the five senses (jawarih) and that of other dispositions (altaf), man must follow a discipline and that discipline is Shariah. Explaining the Shariah, Shah Waliullah asserts that there was a time when man was the slave of lower soul (nafs-e-ammara). His servibility to this soul led him into the clutches of the devil and he was completely deviated from the path of righteousness and virtue.

God, by His mercy, willed him to show the right path and thus formulated a complete plan (tadbir-e-kulli) and from it came into being the part of the plan (tadbir-e-juzvi), that part of the plan was a person from amongst the deviated men. God selected him to be the prophet to teach his fellow beings the discipline of righteousness and virtue (shariah). The last of all was the prophet Muhammad, and the discipline that the taught his people is complete and final. Thus, it is necessary for human beings to follow the discipline to keep a check on the five senses (jawarih) and the dispositions (altaf), so that they should not be perverted and guided by the devil and thereby save themselves from the tortures of grave, cruelty and tyranny. Thus the Shariah serves man only to the extent described above.[27]

Since the Shariah is the cure for the diseased soul, it is essential for the believers to know its importance, and if they fail to realize it, that means that they have not understood the nature of the teachings of the prophet. Explaining the importance (martaba) of the Shariah, Shah Waliullah gives two examples.

First, he gives the example of mash-melon admitting the effects of the sun on its growth without having any knowledge about it. Similar is the case with the sun. It also has no

knowledge about its influence on the growth of the fruit. And, then, the Shah gives another example for the clarity of thought in connection with its inclination that the cold breeze helps a man suffering from heat by comforting him and both are unaware of either affecting or being affected. In the very same way, the universal soul influences tho individual souls by giving them perfection (kamal) to reach a certain stage, but none of them, that is, neither the influencing nor the influenced, is aware of one another's work. Putting it in brief, Shah Waliullah asserts that man should know this very fact that he possesses the two types of tendencies, namely the sensual or animal tendencies and the angelic or divine tendencies, and that the angelic tendencies must dominate the animal ones. Like other places, here too he observes silence and does not plunge into God's realm.[28]

Shah Waliullah goes on to say that we, without thinking of reaching any stage of perfection, must cultivate the following four attributes, namely (1) piety (taharat), (2) attention to God (khuzu), (3) attachment (samahat), and (4) justice (adalat). We have discussed them in detail in his ethics. Here it will suffice to say that these attributes help man bring in proximity with God, for with their help he acquires the qualities of higher angels. It is because

of this fact that the Shariah has emphasized on their inculcation. All the persons are not able to acquire these qualities. The Shariah, therefore, divides the people into three kinds, and the Quran also refers to these categories in the following verse :

ثم اورثنا الكتاب الذين اصطفينا من عبادنا - فمنهم ظالم
لنفسه ومنهم مقتصد ومنهم سابق الخيرات -

(We handed over this book (to the people of Muhammad - Ummat-e-Muhammadiya) who is the best of all the people (Umam) ).

Among the people of Muhammad (Ummat-e-Muhammadiya) some followed it thoroughly, others partly, and still others only nominally. Thus the Shariah or the Islamic law makes a two fold effort and they are embodied in its aspects meaning thereby that there are two aspects of Shariah, namely the internal aspect and the external aspect. Shariah, in its external aspect, makes an effort to reform man by giving him instructions to refrain from the sins and by instigating him to do good deeds. Along with this, it also establishes the foundation of exeology (science of values) to improve the human conduct. The internal aspect of shariah, as Shah Waliullah thinks, is Islam. The shariah, in its internal aspect, makes an effort to purify man's soul by commanding him to save himself of the sins with a complete understanding of their meaning. It means that he should view the evil brought

about by a sin. The morals of the people will be judged in accordance with the category they belong to. Explaining it, he refers to three stages, namely (1) the dominance of sensuality (bahimiyat) over divinity (malakiyat), (2) supression of sensuality by the divinity, and (3) dominance of divinity over the sensuality. The one having a dominant sensuality is categorised as sinful (fasiq) or hypocrite (munafiq). He is 'fasiq' if his deeds are bad and acts harmful; he is 'munafiq' whose actions or deeds are the worst. The one whose sensuality is suppressed by the divinity but is not completely controlled by it, is 'sahib-ul-yamin' (righteous). His divinity fails to control his sensuality either because the rational tendencies (aql) present in his nature are not strong and he is unable to admit the influence of his divinity, or because the bad deeds siege him in the way that he fails to escape them. The one whose divinity dominates over the sensuality is victorious and in proximity with God. In it lies the secret of the training of the dispositions and senses (altaf-wa-jawarih). For such a man it is essential that these two tendencies - namely, the sensuality and the divinity - should be present in his nature in a proper proportion and, along with this, he should have been doing good deeds for all his life; for being able to do so his

reason (aql) should be convinced of his faith (aqida). His heart should be controlled by his will power and his erotic tendencies (quwat-e-sabiya) should be suppressed. Thus, in order to achieve the purpose, the training of the senses is indispensible. Not only this, but it is also necessary that there should be some laws to control these three powers, namely the reason, the will power, and the senses. The Shariah provides us with these laws and we must follow them for their proper training and guidance.[29]

The internal aspect of Shariah named as Islam is mainly concerned with the training of the senses (jawarih). Shah Waliullah includes the reason, the heart and the soul in the senses (jawarih) and calls all of them as 'latifa-e-Jawarih' (the sense controlling the senses). Discussing its nature he asserts that a camel approaching death was sent to him to explain it. It had lost all its powers and was about to die but was walking along with other camels just because it still had the strength to walk, and as soon as it lost that power, its soul left the fetters of its body. And, in this way, he was given to understand that the life of the senses is mortal. He also points out that he includes the reason, the heart and the soul in the senses (jawarih), for the senses translate their decisions into actions meaning

thereby that they are the instruments of these three, namely the reason, the heart and the soul. Thus the external aspect of the Shariah emphasizes on the training of this sense controlling the senses (latifa-e-jawarih). It is therefore that the Shariah checks the sinful (fasiq) so that he may, either this way or the other, be made refrain from his evil deeds. Explaining it, he refers to the commandments of the Shariah arranged in an evolutionary manner. Pardah for women, for example, is imposed to keep the humanity away from evil. Thereafter the adultery has been proscribed. Similarly, the selling and purchasing of the liquor is forbidden to keep men away from it and then the penalty for drunkers is described. Thus, all these commands are revealed to control the senses and thereby change the man into a pious and good one.[30]

Those who do not follow the Shariah are the hypocrites. Shah Waliullah describes their categories. The first one is of those who believe in the Shariah but do not follow it due to some insignificant pretence. They feel the danger of disobedience but console themselves with that very pretence. The second category is of those who do not feel the danger of disobedience and console themselves throughly with their pretence. Such a hypocrite becomes the slave of his senses;

his reason, heart and soul do not guide him. He makes them what his senses demand. In brief, he leads a life of sensual pleasure and develops the tendency of revenge and hatred. Not only this, he also desires to get all the things of luxury. He develops a feeling of intolerance towards his equals. Having the tendency of revenge he attempts to kill them; he takes pleasure in being obeyed; he takes up to serve his friends against the Shariah; he takes pride in their service. Putting it in brief, he does all that is against the Shariah and the reason (aql).[31]

The hypocrite whose understanding (quwwat-e-darraka) is dirty, fails to comprehend the expediencies of Shariah. He does possess the right reason but falls in the clutches of doubt about God and His commands. His prudence, though sagacious in the realm of worldly knowledge, is not so sharp to penetrate into the Shariah and comprehends its importance and he, therefore, doubts the attributes of God and tries to understand them with the help of similes. Thus in short, the cure for the hypocrisy lies in the fact that the hypocrite should be guided by his reason, his sensuality (quwwat-e-sabiya) and passion should be controlled by his reason. His soul with all its capacities must guide his reason and this will be achieved only with the help of the Shariah, and, as

it is not so easy a task, the Shariah prescribes prayers like (salat' and fasting (som) etc. It is the duty of a man to consider the illegal as illegal and otherwise. He should not pursue the path of the pleasure of the senses but leave these enjoyments for himself in the heaven. Thus, the Shariah helps in the training of the senses.[32]

Individuals belonging to any category to possess the individual differences. Some of them act quite in accordance with their nature and others deviate from it. The shariah teaches man to behave in accordance with his nature, and, as it demands, the sensuality should be controlled by the reason (aql) and the animality (bahimiyat) should follow the divinity. That will be a coordination desired by the Shariah. Explaining it, he gives the example of a man going for hunting, finding on a horse with a tiger riding on the same pony behind him. It will be against the nature, for according to it man must have riden the tiger to follow the prey. Thus, the Shariah guides man to the right path and those deviated from it must be cured and only this serves as their cure. Having been trained, the reason will properly guide the sensuality (sabiyat) and the sensuality would look after the animality (bahimiyat). *Each one will function in accordance with its nature and man* in totality will work according to his own.[33]

The Shariah has prescribed laws for the separation of the animality (bahimiyat) from the sensuality and for the control of sensuality (sabiyat) by the reason (aql). In order to suppress the animality (bahimiyat), fasting (som) and penance (kaffara) have been prescribed, and in order to control the sensuality (sabiyat), worship and rememberance have been made compulsory. Acting in accordance with these laws, one can purify his inner and outer senses. The purified persons are also different. One whose heart is purified and trained is 'siddiq' (truthful); one whose animality is trained is a man of penitence (zahid) and one whose reason is purified is a learned man (rasikh-ul-ilm); and one whose dispositions and senses (latif-wa-jawarih) are not trained but he does not indulge himself in the life of senses is righteous (sahib-ul-yamin). Thus, according to Shah Waliullah, it is the Shariah that makes man purified and trained. In support of his argument he refers to the tradition and Quran. Both of them, as he holds, emphasise on moderate life, and it is therefore that continuous fasting, leaving of 'sahar' (morning meal for fasting during the day) and reciting too much of the Quran at the time of 'Sahar' have not been recommended, so that the moderation in all walks of life may be kept in view; for it is in accordance with the nature of

man and is the only possible cure for his diseased dispositions (lataif).[34]

Having explained the importance of Shariah in the training of the senses, Shah Waliullah takes up to describe the role of 'tariqat' (inner laws) in the purification or training of the senses. It was founded by Sheikh Junaid Baghdadi and Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jilani and thereafter followed by his disciples. Tracing its history the Shah holds that in the days of the companions (sahabah) and companions of the companions (tabiyeen), there were some people who contemplated over the Shariah and did not find it apt to cure all the diseases. Having pondered over the problem they came to conclude that the world is futile and the soul should completely detach itself from its pleasure. As a consequence to this, they began to lead a life of complete seclusion. Having divorced all the pleasures of the world, they started living in the forests and spent their days and nights in the worship of God. They put themselves in all possible bodily tortures and ate only that much which could make them live. The first man to practise such a life was Haris Mahasibi. Many others followed him; their main goal was the proximity with God which, as they thought, could be achieved by segregation of desires in a life of detachment.[35]

Among them there were certain people who tried to acquire the qualities of the lower angels (malaika-e-sifliya). Some of them achieved perfection to the extent that with the help of dream and meditation (kashf) they had inspiration (ilham) to interfere with the deeds of people. Others had no inspiration, but by the virtue of their practice they were able to float over the water and fly in the air. Sheikh Junaid was the first who took up to reform this way of life. He gave due position to the Shariah and Tariqat. In the book Quwwat-ul-Qulub, he later on, expounded its doctrines. In his exposition he presented before the world an amalgamation of the two, namely the course of Mahasibi and that of Sheikh Junaid. Sheikh Junaid, in his course of sufism, emphasizes on the training of the dispositions (lataif). He describes the way for the training of each disposition, namely the spirit (nafs), heart (qalb), reason (aql), soul (ruh), and hidden power (sirr). He also points out the dwelling place of each of these dispositions in the body. The purification or training of the spirit (nafs), heart (qalb) and reason (aql), as Sheikh Junaid defines, is tariqat and the training of the rest of the dispositions, namely soul (ruh) and hidden power (sirr) is gnosis (marifat). Thus the course prescribed by Sheikh Junaid is the path of inner

laws (tariqat) and gnosis (marifat).[36]

Arguing the importance of worship Shah Waliullah asserts that in order to reach a stage, the purification of the three inner dispositions is essential. And this cannot be attained without worship for it is on the basis of worship that man knows his nature. For instance, the heart should control the give senses and the action of the senses should indeed reflect the heart and thereupon the stage of truth is attained, but if the nature is defective its achievement is a matter of impossibility. Explaining it, he gives two examples. The first is concerned with the man who pretends to have love of of the nation but fails to acquire the reverence for its good ceremonies and cultivate good habits like civility and offering presents etc. that goes to suggest that his nature is defective and he has not properly cultivated the love of nation in his heart. Such a man cannot attain the stage of truth. The second example is of a man who possesses no patience. His heart remains full of worries and anxities. Its eagerness is aroused even by a petty affair and he very quickly arrives in the state of fury and exasperation. It is more than definite that such a man cannot reach the stage of patience. In order to cure the nature, worship is thus necessary. Even after the worship if someone does not reach

a stage, there is nothing wrong about him. Sheikh Bayazid entitled such a man as 'sultan-ul-zakirin'. It means that man's first duty is to worship and remember God and wait for his blessings for a stage in the sufi course. And, if at all he achieves none it is not a matter of worry, he has directed his efforts towards the attainment of any of them but it depends on God.[37]

Having purified and trained the nature, the heart and the reason the sufi proceeds to purification of soul (ruh) and hidden power (sirr). Here again he starts from the training of the lower soul (nafs) for, as Shah Waliullah asserts, there is a difference in its previous and present training. Differentiating the two, he discusses the nature of lower soul (nafs). He asserts that it makes two types of mischiefs : (1) the lower soul, in accordance with its tendencies, is inclined towards the animality (sabiyat) and in order to refrain from its inducement it should be controlled by the heart and the heart should be controlled by the reason. (2) The lower soul sometimes is not inclined towards anything. It becomes absolutely inactive. In such a state it profanes the soul (ruh) and the hidden power (sirr). The ordinary man is unable to understand the cause of profanity. But a gnostic (arif) knows it and struggles




against the lower soul.[38]

Before discussing the training of the soul, Shah Waliullah describes its attributes. To him the soul possesses two attributes. With the help of one it is attracted towards the divine light (tajalliy-e-azam) resting in khatirat-ul-quds and with the help of the other it is induced to the pious and higher angels. The inducement affects it and the effect is expressed either in discipline (mukhatiba) which is possible with maturity of reason or in the event which takes place with the help of the heart. Due to the profanities of the nature of man the soul becomes impure and the impurity refrains it from pursuing its desired course. Otherwise, as it is in the very nature of the soul, it is attracted either towards the divine light (tajalliy-e-azam) or to the purified souls (arwah-e-taiyabba) and the higher angels (mala-e-ala). The attraction takes place due to the love of its abode to to which the calls muhabbat-e-khassa. Other than this, he also speaks of love of faith. Defining it, he says that it is the belief of the reason into the reality; it also includes the dominance of the reason upon the heart to make it work properly. Describing it, he points out that 'muhabbat-e-khassa' is the love which attracts the thing towards its source (markaz). Explaining it, he gives

the example of dust and wind which always return to their source. This inducement is expressed in the movement in the case of separation, and in the case of unity, it results into satisfaction and comfort. This type of love helps the soul in being attracted towards the divine light and otherwise. Thus the soul and the divine light become related. Their relation is of the type existing between the iron and the magnet.[39]

In the same way the hidden power (sirr) also possesses two attributes. With the help of one it observes the divine light and with the help of the other it sees the prophetic souls and the higher angels which are in proximity with the divine light.

Like soul the hidden power can also be profaned, and the profanity refrains it from pursuing its path. In case it is purified, the reason in the heart stands it. When the reason helps the sufi meditates, and when the heart helps he observes. Here Shah Waliullah comes to describe the difference between the faith (yaqin) and the observation of the hidden power (mushahida-e-sirr). To him observation of is the appearance and faith is the belief in something without seeing it. Both of them, as he is of the view, are rooted in the 'aql'. Here again, he points out the confusion made

by the people. It is in between the observation and the imagined form (surat-e-wahma). Explaining it, he asserts that the power of imagination (quwat-e-wahma) helps the reason by finding out the explanation and interpretation of faith and the imagined form confronts it. Due to this confrontation, he takes it as observation, though, as a matter of fact, it is the imagined form which dominates over the heart in the state of ecstasy. Clarifying it, Shah Waliullah asserts that it we say that the observation is spontaneity (amad) and the imagined form is deliberation (awurd), we shall be wrong to presume it so because the deliberation due to the repitition of a practice becomes spontaneity and spontaneity in its initial stage is nothing but deliberation. If we say that the imagination has the tendency of possession but the divine light (tajalliy-e-azam) does not have it, howsoever be the possessed one, but it is not inclined towards it. We are not justified in asserting any such thing as there should be similarity of tendency in the imagination and the divine light. With the help of his contention he proves that the sufis do not aptly distinguish between the observation and the imagined form. Considering the difference of tendency of the imagination and the divine light they make the possessed similar to mere abstraction. Proceeding with

the discussion. Shah Waliullah argues that if the imagined form is taken to be embodied in imagination and the observation is understood to be lying outside, it will again be wrong to say any such thing as in this case the imagined form will be embodied, and the observation unembodied. It means that the embodied will discern the unembodied which, ot him, is a matter of impossibility. Thus, he concludes that it is a delicate and acute problem and cannot be solved by ordinary Sufis. He, however, gives no solution of the problem but only poses it for the people to contemplate over. It is, however, explicit that he acknowledges the distinction between the two, but the only points it out and does not describe as to what should be thought of these two and how should they be comprehended as separate entities.[40]

Having discussed it, he asserts that if the imagined form is similar to mere abstraction, it leads the hidden power to its proper place, and if the soul and the hidden power are at their respective places and the lower soul (nafs) abstains from aking mischiefs, the unity with the divine light is then possible. And, due to the union, the sufi will reach a stage called as the state of constant union

(Hayat-e-ijtimaiya ittisal). Alongwith this, he describes here some other stages as well. If the soul, reason and heart continue to remain in the state described above and the lower senses (hawas) remain controlled the sufi reaches a state called as the state of absence of existence (ghibat or wujud adam); if the hidden power follows the soul pursuing the right path there comes a state of sinking (hulut). Its relative higher stage is affection (uns); if the soul follows the hidden power pursuing its right path there comes the state called as the state of gnosis (marifat). Its higher stage is difference (tafraqa). Thereafter comes the stage of contraction (qabz) when the lower senses help the soul and the hidden power. The following is the stage of expansion (bast) and it is achieved when the lower senses fully support the soul and the hidden power. This support must come from it persuasively. It should interpret and explain them with affection. And if there is a continuity in some of the states and in others it does not exist, the sufi comes to the stage of seeing the freaks of the divine light (tajalliy-e-istitar). And, if the sufi sees himself to be united for a while and thereafter the unity disappears, he rises to the stage of shining and brightness (lawamih wa sawti). All these stages are the development of the stages of the heart

and the reason and are created in the soul and the hidden power (ruh wa sirr). Sometimes this unity is concealed in the veils of physicality and sometimes manifests itself like the discourse (mukhataba), event (wardat), dangers (khwatir), etc. If the heart dominates, the soul comes to a point very much like the state (hal), and the knowledge gained at this stage comes from the heart. By the domination of the reason there comes a stage resembling perception and contemplation (idrak wa fatanat) and the knowledge gained at this stage comes from the reason. If the soul and the hidden power pursue their right path the sufi is united with the higher angels (mala-e-ala).[41]

This unit, is often concealed like the discourse, danger and the event, and sometimes is expressed in divine forms (dawai-e-malakiya). It is because sometimes the soul and the hidden power act properly and sometimes one of them pursues its right path. However, with the difference of their function the sufi passes on to different stages. Much has been said, as Shah Waliullah acknowledges, regarding the annihilation and subsistance (fana-wa-baqa) but, as he thinks, it has not been properly explained. He is of the view that every internal and external sense (lataif wa jawarih) has its own discipline (hukm) and when any of the two comes close

to each other one or the other state is created meaning thereby (1) both of them are either united in a way that their discipline (hukm) becomes one. This state gives way to the stages of intoxication (sukr), ecstasy (wajd), absorption (mahv), and (2) or both of them even after being united remain distinguished following their own discipline but help one another in the path of progress and this state leads to the stages of sobriety (suhv), dignity (tamkin) and stability (istiqamat). According to Shah Waliullah, great is he who possesses dignity (tamkin) and those internal senses, even after being united, pursue their own discipline (hukm).[42]

Having given his point of view Shah Waliullah discusses the first condition of the unity. In case of the union of internal senses with each other, if the animality, sensuality and the five senses are dominant, the person will be a hypocrite, and if the heart would control the lower senses, reason and soul, the person will experience the stages of dominance (ghalba), ecstasy (wajd) and intoxication (sukr). It the heart is dominant the sufi is unable to think of anything and acts like the people being in ecstasy. He thinks neither of the world nor of the life hereafter. He only keeps on doing things in ecstatic condition. And, if the reason dominates he thinks of everything and is able to

distinguish between one and the other. In the first case it is called annihilation and in the second subsistence. The first is dominance (ghalba) and the second dignity (tamkin). The first is intoxication (sukr) and the second sobriety (suhv). Putting it in brief, the soul dominates the heart, the senses, the reason and nature and the hidden power all of them. To conclude, the Shah affirms that for the training of the internal senses worship is a must. The sufi must keep on remembring God. Shah Waliullah prefers the loud remembrance (zikr-e-jahr) expounded by the naqshbandis. He also emphasizes on the holding of breath (habs-e-dam) and internal purification. Moreover, he thinks music useful for making the heart active. The Owaisia silsila, as he thinks, makes the reason sagacious and remembrance enlightens the hidden power. Thus, in his opinion, the purification of internal and external senses (lataif-wa-wajarih) is necessary and can be made with the help of worship and remembrance.[43]

It has often been observed that the lower self demands for the fulfilment of wishes and when the sufi does not allow it, he experiences internal confrontation, but his constant effort makes him successful and, having succeeded in enslaving the lower self, he sees in him a strange light which affirms the servility of the lower self. Here Shah Waliullah refers

to Sheikh Ibrahim Adham to have been telling that he had conqured the lower self twice and makes the mention of two stories told by him but gives no details. Thereafter, he describes as to how he could know that the internal senses have been purified. The sufi, as he thinks, would know if if he feels delighted and enlightened. He will realize it by seeing his stage. If he is at the stage of ecstasy and rapture (wajd wa shauq) his heart dominates. One who has the absolute faith is a man of reason. A man of piety, worship or owaisiyat is a man of soul. Apart from it, the reform of the internal senses will be revealed by the events that a sufi comes across. Having purified all the senses one of them which corresponds to his nature dominates the others. The man of heart will always be in the stage of ecstasy and rapture, the man of reason would observe the divine light, the man of soul would enjoy the illuminations of the soul, and the man of hidden power would gladly follow the commands of God (ahkam). Thus, the dominant internal senses would play an important role in his sufi path.

Shah Waliullah also warns that if a sufi is seen to be doing something against the Shariah, he should not be doubted unless one keeps the following points in mind that sometimes it so happens that a particular sense such as sensuality in

lower senses dominates in a sufi. Now in order to purify the lower sense it has to be controlled. But even after its being controlled it may express itself in a mild and delicate way. And, thus, a sufi having such a nature may perform something against shariah. Moreover, in the beginning of the advent of Islam much emphasis was given on the purification of the external senses and the internal ones were hardly attended to. Thus, their internal senses were not reformed in accordance with the shariah. In this way, Shah Waliullah gives much emphasis on lower self but, along with this, he also emphasizes on its reform so that the internal and the external senses may be purified.[44]

Stages in the Sufi Course :

Having described the importance of shariah, 'tariqat' and worship in the purification of the senses, reason, heart, soul, and the hidden power, we now take up to discuss the different stages in sufism. We shall begin our discussion of these stages by pointing out the difference between sufi and common man. On one ground, as described earlier, there is no difference between the two, but on the others it does exist which will be described hereafter.

Shah Waliullah here asserts that this difference is created by the status and dignity reached by man due to his

deeds. To explain it, Shah Waliullah describes that passion (shahwat) and emotionality constitute the nature of the animal soul (nafs-e-sabiya). Man's object lies in the attainment of light and purity and they cannot be achieved unless he controls the passionate soul and the animal soul (nafs-e-shawiyya wa nafs-e-sabbiya). Thus, by controlling them he will be different from the common man and will thereby reach a stage as it is achieved by him, it will be called his own creation. This stage in this way is man's creation. When he reaches a particular stage he sees himself in a particular state which can be understood as its consequence. He, however, has to depend for it on God as He is the bestower of the state. In order to reach a stage some acts must be performed. Reprentence (tauba) and prayer are necessary to civilize the passionate and the animal soul. The passionate soul must be controlled by the animal one, and the animal soul should be dominated by reason (quwwat-e-darraka). In this coordination, only, repentence and prayer are possible. The secret of repentence lies in the check.

One who checks himself is called 'zajir'. He is classified into a particular category in accordance with the nature of the check he imposes on himself, and thus the controllers are divided into many kinds. The first is one

who controls himself gradually. He is either taken to check himself due the advice of a preacher or of a sufi or is induced to check himself due to the company of the pious people. The second one is that who checks himself due to the ecstasy (wajd) felt in the depth of his heart, and in this state he feels either disgusted or rapturous. The ecstasy transforms the heart and it is separated from the senses (jawarih). The third one is that who controls his reason. The check on the reason means its conciousness and the conciousness means its control over the heart. All this is achieved with the help of repentence (tauba).

Having described the repentence, Shah Waliullah describes the penitence (zuhd). It is important for the training of the soul. In order to perform it, man must refrain himself from committing all the sins and thereby control his heart and senses. Not only this, he should also avoid his indulgence in the affairs consuming all his time. Apart from it, he should himself account for his deeds he has done till then (mahasaba). With the help of self-accounting the heart is controlled and the soul is purified. Penitence, however, depends on the repentence and thus, ultimately, it is the repentence which helps man in the training of the soul, the heart and the senses.[45]

There are many stages of penetance but they are not often distinguished because the deeds at these stages are similar and the reason, due to the similarity, acknowledges no difference though, as a matter of fact, they are distinct from one another. Shah Waliullah describes some of them given below.

(1) Patience and dependence (sabr), (2) truthfulness and ecstasy (sidq wa wajd), (3) submission and peity (taslim wa taqwa), (4) love of the paths of God (Muhabbat-e-shiar-allah).

Some of them are result of the reformation of the soul and others of the heart and senses. Patience and dependence are the result of the reformation of soul; truthfulness and ecstasy follow from the purification of the heart; devotion and love become the quality of the soul when purified.

The training and reformation lies in the fact that it should, on the one hand, penetrate into the nature of the belief which comes from the world of forms (ahyaz-e-alia). It, however, should not question the elements of the aforesaid belief, rather take it for granted and proceed to act in accordance with it. On the other hand, it should be aware of the becoming. It means that it should be guided by meditation, 'mukashifa' in the sufi terminology and 'love'

in the terms of epistemology. (Here Shah Waliullah describes the distinction of terms by giving the equivalents, but they are different in accordance with the fields they are used in. Thus, when the reason is trained, it becomes aware of the becoming either with the help of dream or meditation. Knowing something about what to come, is not easily comprehensible because it is related to sufi potentialities and cannot be experienced unless they are developed.

The training of the reason also means that the reason should understand the changing (intiqal) and the finite (hadas). It should also be able to give right interpretation to the divine book. Alongwith this, it should be in a position to penetrate into the nature of attributes. All this can be achieved when the reason is trained and purified. The purpose of the training lies in the civilization of the senses. Civilization of the senses would mean their proper functionning which would be in accordance with their nature. The sufis differ in connection with the achievement of the purpose. Some of them are of the view that each of the senses (lataif) should separately be trained, and having purified them one should worship the deity. It means that the training of the senses comes first in their mystic course and worship thereafter. Others are of the opinion that worship is the

worship is the pre-requisite and cannot be ignored in any case. As a matter of fact, the purification of the senses depends on knowing its meaning; thereby without it they cannot be trained and purified. Thus the latter emphasizes on the worship more than the training, and Shah Waliullah also supports them. It is on the basis of the training that they are categorized. Explaining it he gives the examples. One who acquires love and faith before the training of the soul is 'majzub', one who is dominated by his state (hal). And one who repents and worships before coming to the stage of love and faith is traveller (salik). The training of the soul (nafs) has a two-fold effect. On one hand, it affects the five senses and helps them in proper cordination. On the other hand, it affects the heart and reason. It helps the heart by arousing in it the feeling of love of God and directs the reason to revive faith in his being. In this regard, Shah Waliullah prefers the teachings of Khwaja Naqshband, for he is of the view that the training of internals (batin) is not enough, the externals (zahir) should also be purified. Khwaja Naqshband asserts that the traveller (salik) should concern himself with the 'sunnah' and its essence should not be devoid. The worship being 'sunnah' should compulsorily be performed. The veracity lies in the fact that remembrance (zikr

(zikr) and engagement (shagl) are essential for the purification of the dispositions. Putting it in brief, Shah Waliullah holds that the worship is matter (maddah) and the stage (maqam) is form. From without matter cannot be imagined. He gives the example that the vex is necessary and only then the forms can be given to it. It means that no stage can be reached without worship. In it lies the senses (asl) of the purification of the senses.[46]

Having described the importance of worship (dawam-e-ubudiyat), the Shah comes to define different stages. He first takes up the stage of truth. Defining it he asserts that it is not the truth of assertions (aqwal) but the truth of states (ahwal). Explaining it he describes that the heart possesses a power to induce the five senses towards itself and thus controls them and makes them do what it deems virtuous. When the heart acquires this attribute with the help of worship and traveller attains the stage, namely the stage of truth which lies in between the two, namely the acquired attribute of the heart and worship. Having reached this stage the traveller (salik) knows to respect, and whenever he finds the name of God written on a paper or hears it from someone, he at once shows respect by by bowing his head and pronouncing assertions like

Having defined the stage of truth he comes to explain the stage of ecstasy (wajd). To him ecstasy means the absorption or complete engagement in a particular state or affair such as the acts of modesty (haya), abhorence of the world, regret and shamefulness, etc. In this absorption the five senses should also be lost, meaning thereby they should be in complete subjugation of the heart. The traveller reaches this stage with the help of worship. The ecstasy depends on the ability of the soul. It means that the soul admits the possibility of being lost in a particular state or affair and the heart is absorbed. Shah Waliullah also speaks of the ways leading to ecstasy. Worship is one of them and lawful music also leads to it. Here he points out a mistake of many of the sufis who understand the stage of ecstasy as the last one and consider the one being in it as a saint without knowing whether the heart dominates the nature or not, meaning thereby that, to the Shah, ecstasy will be a stage when the heart dominates the nature. Without it, that is to say, if otherwise is the case, it is very much like animality which makes it difficult to distinguish between man and animal. To him, a stage without having divinity in it cannot be a stage in the sufi course and, in the case of otherwise, he would not recognize it as a

the stage. On the same principle, he explains patience (sabr). According to him, it also lies in the gravity of the nature of the heart and depends on worship. Like other stages, it is also achieved with the help of worship. Explaining it further, he says that at this stage as well the reason should dominate the heart. Here he also speaks of the kinds of patience or dependence (tawakkul). He describes its two kinds, namely (1) trust in God, and (2) piety (taqwa). The first is attained by the reason with the help of meditation and inspiration (kashf wa ilham) and, on the basis of it, the reason loses confidence in everything but God. Shah Waliullah here points out a mistake made by the people in general. Most of them confuse it with carelessness and idleness and call them as dependence (tawakkul) and thus justify their unpondered deeds and leisurely life. He rightly asserts that carelessness and idleness cannot be understood as patience and dependence (sabr wa tawakkul). The second, piety (taqwa) means to be in the limits of Shariah. The importance of Shariah has earlier been discussed. Here it will suffice to say that man must keep himself within the bounds of Shariah. Asserting it, he points out towards the sufis who thought themselves free from it and believed in the 'tariqat' alone. Other than this,

the piety includes the love of God's command, taking in the purview the Holy Quran, the Kaaba and the Prophet. Not only this, it also includes the love of sufis and it is this which is called as annihilation in the prophet (fana fi al rasool) or in the Sheikh (fana fi al Sheikh). Its essence lies in the fact that the heart (qalb) should not be servile to the demands of lower soul (nafs).[47]

For its achievement he is of the view that the naqshbandis have found a better way (hal) and it is the attention paid to the disciple. Explaining it, the Shah asserts that everyone possesses the capacity of dominance (ghalba) and resolution (azm) and when he attends to someone he considers his opponent as inferior and dominates him. In the case of common man, this capacity is used to gain power and status. The sufis utilise it, and particularly the naqshbandis, to reform and purify the nature of the disciple. The common man is not aware of this capacity or, at least, he is unable to distinguish it from the other. The sufi, with the help of worship learns, to differentiate the attributes and capacities from one another. Thus he becomes aware of this capacity as well, and when he wants to attend someone he succeeds in it and his states affect the disciple to the extent that he is lost in them. Explaining the

difference of the two, namely the one who has realized this capacity and the other who is unaware of it, Shah Waliullah gives two examples. The one is of the stone producing fire when struck upon by an iron rod. But, in case of this example, the flame is not necessary and if at all it blazes, nothing can be said of its direction. The other example is of a man who has collected fire and is capable of burning anything whether wet or dry. It means that in case of common man the effect of the state is not a matter of surity, but in case of a sufi who has realized this capacity the effect of the state is essential, meaning thereby that his attention can alter the disciple in the way he likes.[48]

Having described the methods of naqshbandis, Shah Waliullah comes to a graver problem which consists in the absorption. In connection with this, he is of the view that a sufi must remember God from the core of his belief, and with its help he realizes the power of understanding (quwwat-e-mudraka) and power of imagination (quwat-e-wahima). Having realised these powers lying in him in potentiality, he should draw for himself an imaginative picture and, with the help of his faith, he should explain and interpret it. This imaginative picture will be relational in nature. This means that it would be related to someone and that some one would be God.

would be God. Explaining it he asserts that, as the devoted falcon remains attached to its nest, in the same way the imaginative picture in his mind is related to the one it belongs to. Here he emphasizes on the objectified picture but he is also of the view that it could be abstract as well in which case it will mroly be a form and so he calls it reflection of the form (tajalliy-e-sauri) which could appear either in the state of awakening or sleep.[49]

After describing the faith, the Shah comes to the importance of inspiration (kashf). It depends on the capacity of the person and as he benefits himself, all his other capacities and powers are realised and enlightened to reach this stage, segregation of animality and attention to the lower angels are essential. It has already been described that full participation in the world leaves no time for being absorbed in worship and remembrance of God.

Shah Waliullah here again tries to resolve a confusion shared by the sufis in general. And it is made in between the reliance (aitibar) and the meaning argued. He defines 'aitibar' saying that it is that when a mystic (sufi) attains gnosis by hearing a tradition or a verse of Quran without the basis of any rational argument (dalalat-e-wazai). Defining the rational argument, he asserts that it is the argument

established on the basis of the explanation (ibarat-e-nass), clues (isharat-e-nass) and intuition. It means that with their help man reaches to the exact meaning of the word. The reliance (aitibar) is one way of understanding the meaning of the words. Shah Waliullah is of the view that the dangers are known by this process either in the state of awakeness or in sleep. Explaining it, he asserts that a musician sings a particular song but it transports the hearer to his own. As a matter of fact the musician's song has no relation with that of the hearer but the likeness of the contents reminds him of his own and he feels himself to have lost in it. Thus, 'aitibar' is the transportation of mind without the establishment of any argument. The Quran, the tradition and the teachings of great sufis should be studied and comprehended with the help of this process of knowledge. Shah Waliullah, thus, clearly explains that reliance (aitibar) is not argued meaning; it is the process in which the exact meanings are understood through some medium.[50]

Types of Knowledge :

The training and the purification of the senses postulates two types of knowledge, namely 'athar' and 'zat'. By 'athar' he means that the knowledge of the multiplicity of the objects is obtained by the senses and each of them is distinguished from one another. The knowledge intervenes the

senses and the 'arif' becomes aware of the objects (irtibat). The matter of intervention is completely subjective. As he profers no explanation to this subjective experience it lacks convincing possibility. Knowledge of the world comes from the absolute ego (ananiyat-e-mutlaqa) and the individual receives it with the help of his senses. The senses possessed by man are by way of simile related to different devilish, angelic, animal, and other named bodies. The knowledge in the same way actually concerned with the absolute ego is related to the individual ego (ananiyat-e-khasna). The 'arif' can obtain the true knowledge only when he sees God in the world and the world in Him. Both of them have their own qualities and the 'arif' becomes aware of them. Supporting his contention, he argues that had there been only the unity (kauh-e-mutlaq); the diversity could not be perceived, and if there existed only the diversity the unity could not be visualized. It is therefore that he advocates to see the unity in diversity and otherwise for the achievement of true knowledge. Thus, unity and diversity both are indispensible for obtaining the knowledge.[51]

It is the knowledge that categorizes man and differentiates one from the other. Shah Waliullah discusses it in the proceeding passage.

First of all he presents the qualities of a perfect man (insan-e-kamil). It is he who only sees the unity. Having known the unity he is not in need of knowing the diversity, for it is hidden in the unity itself.

Explaining it Shah Waliullah emphasizes on the divine motive. It comes from the world of forms and through the divine light (tajalliy-e-azam) or the universal soul (nafs-e-kulliya). It is there that the arif perceives unity in unity and diversity in diversity. Through these agencies, namely the divine light and the universal soul, the divine motive (daiya-e-ilahiya) is revealed on the human soul which Shah Waliullah often compares with the bubble. Speaking of its revelation he holds that it is in accordance with the divine expediency (maslahat-e-kulliya) and the universal plan (tadbir-e-kulli) that the souls bring forth the divine impulse of knowledge to the soul of the arif. Such a man who possesses the divine impulse or motive of knowledge is the perfect man and his reason, heart and nature come across with the conditions which actually are divine but appear to be natural (nafsani).

Such a man is adorned with the national feelings. Among them, one who leads the nation is the prophet (nabi) and one who eradicates the evil or tyranny is the caliph (Khalifa). Here the Shah speaks of confusion. The divine

motives revealing themselves in the world of forms are known to the souls which have the capacity to admit them. Such a motive does not belong to a higher stage. But the divine impulse possessed by a perfect man comes from a higher stage and thus should be distinguished from the one coming from the world of forms. The soul of the perfect man possesses the highest kind of capacity and when he receives the divine impulse all of him becomes divine. To him the problem becomes more subtle. The reason shows its incapability to solve. Only this much can be said about it that the 'hajr-o-bahat' is the hidden power (sirr) coming out of the purity (zat-e-bahat) and it is 'malm-ul-anaiyyat-majhulul kyfiyyah'. Explaining the unity in diversity he uses two similes. It is like the sun reflecting itself into the glasses of different colours. When all of them will shine at a time there will be one view of light created by the brightness of the glasses or it is like putting a ruby in a glass and all through the glass the colour of the ruby will be seen. Thus the Reality (zat) is one. The diversity lies in the differences of the souls.[52]

Dangers in Understanding Shariah :

In regard to purification of different faculties, Shah Waliullah says that some persons by their nature, are

divine and, being divine, reach a stage suitable to their nature; and some of the individuals work hard to achieve a particular stage. God helps them in the achievement of their object. In support of his argument he quotes the following verse from the Holy Quran :

يعلم الله ـ (الخ)

(God knows everyone and He is the disposer of all things. He knows the desire of the individual and bestows upon him what he wants and thus helps reach the goal).

It does not depend on the will power. It does not depend even on the Shariah. Contrary to this, the scholars of Shariah had been concealing it from the people, for much of it namely the annihilation and subsistence of the internal dispositions into the sirr depends on the individual. The scholars of Shariah did not reveal it also for the reason that some of the individuals may misunderstand. Clarifying the fact he gives the example of the books of scholars which benefitted many of the individuals. But, for some of them, they proved to be dangerous due to their inability of comprehension and right interpretation. As regard to the annihilation (fana-e-ruhani) and subsistence (baqa-e-bhut), Shariah can help only to the extent as the story of Laila-o-Majnun, for instance, helps man in transporting him to his own romance. However, the people in general are not helped by Shariah in this regard and so the scholars had been

concealing it from them. But, as Shah Waliullah thinks, it is the demand of the time that the secrets of the annihilation and subsistence should be brought home. Here he gives a clue to the degenerating conditions of the Sufis in his own days, and by way of reform thinks it indispensable to speak of the secrets which had hitherto been concealed. As regards to the secret senses (latifa-e-kanina), the Shah is of the views that, due to the lack of sagacity and sharpness required in their comprehension the sufis have been unable to understand them. Many of them have attempted at it but their efforts led them to naught and they could not reach any conclusion. To him, it is because of the fact that in its comprehension they made mistakes. Here he takes up to point out these errors and rectify them as far as possible.

To begin with it, he takes up to describe the source of danger and is of the view that the heart, reason and the nature of man are its sources; as they are different in nature the dangers coming out of them are also different. If it is a danger rooted in the heart, he calls it 'ahwal-e-awqat'. It will express itself in matters of contraction (qabz) and expansion (bast), fear and hope, and prudence, etc. The danger rooted in the reason expresses itself in the matters

of meditation regarding the future. And, the danger rooted in the nature of man expresses itself in the matters of hunger, thirst, and so on. Thus, it is necessary that in order to save oneself from these dangers either rooted in the heart, reason or nature, have their cause and are created by it in a way as the hunger, thirst, heat and cold become the cause of urge or mental disorder is the cause of irritation, and self-discourse, etc. Reason has the capacity of comprehension and heart possesses the capacity of intention (qasd) and faith (yaqin). They do not help in the creation of the dangers and the sufi must not take them into consideration so long as they are engaged in their own domain of perception. It is actually the devilish tendencies (nufus-e-Shaitaniya) which are responsible for the creation of dangers. They should, therefore, be controlled. In case of their being free they create in man feelings like anger, temptation, etc. and destroy the divine discipline, and any discipline other than the divine one should not be followed and obeyed.[53]

If any other discipline is followed, the devilish powers dominate the divinity in man and the followers acquire the demerits of irritation, annoyance and temptation. The evil souls also help the devil to develop these tendencies in man. They, however, cannot give anything to man except the fear and

disappointment. Thus, a sufi should be aware of these tendencies and guard himself against their dominance. He should also know that they could induce him only to the evil deeds and devilish discipline. Shah Waliullah, therefore, advises the sufis to emancipate themselves from such tendencies and ask for the refuge of God. There are some dangers which belong to the world of forms (alam-e-mithal). Here the Shah clarifies as to what he means by the world of forms. To him, it is the world of secrets looked after by the higher angels. Explaining it he gives the example of a house with the brands of different sizes and lighting capacities. All of them are lighted together and give a light collectively. Although each one of them gives the light in accordance with the capacity of emission, in the same way there are many secrets of the soul and many angels, each of them having its own capacity. But, when taken collectively they form a whole. The sufi in the state of ecstasy does not see the reality but perceives its from belonging to the world of forms.[54]

As it has been said that everything has its form in the world of forms, same is the case with the dangers, with the difference that vice and virtue are not distinguished there. The angels, however, inform the man of the danger he

is to face or is about to face, either in the dream or with the help of some other man or animal. Not all but only a group of angels is engaged in this task. Some of the secret souls also help them in the performance of their work. The knowledge of magic and other sciences related to the astrology are based on this function, meaning thereby that the angels are the actual source of information. These sciences by themselves cannot foretell anything. Discussing it further, he holds that the urges in the heart of man are created by the angels in the world of forms. It is because of the fact that the universal expediency (mislihat-e-kulli) desires to create some virtue which cannot be expressed unless embodied in the human soul, and for its embodiment in the human soul it necessarily comes into existence in the world of forms. The universal expediency, in this regard, obeys the universal ego (ananiyat-e-kubra). Describing it explicitly the Shah asserts that when the world needs change it first occurs in the divine light (tajalliy-e-azam) which is understood to be the heart of universal ego. Explaining the descent he gives the example of water a part of which is absorbed in the ground. In the same way, what is revealed by the universal ego in accordance with the universal expediency is implemented by the angels and the human souls, for they are the only instruments

or agents to bring it down to the human beings. In this way the urge is created. The angels by themselves are nothing. They are like the stagnant waves which need a move or like a spring which benefits the thirsty only when he himself takes water from it. But they possess the capacity of bringing something down to the human beings if desired by the universal expediency (maslihat-e-kulli). Speaking of the difference between the capacity of the angels and that of man, the Shah explains it with the example of an astrologer and a common man. An astrologer has the prior knowledge of a solar eclipse while a common man knows about it when he sees the sun. Thus the angels have the capacity of receiving the knowledge of any event before its happening in the phenomenal world and man knows it when he comes across.[55]

In creating the divine motive the universal expediency (maslihat-e-kulliya) manifests itself in the individual expediency (maslihat-e-juzviya) but its manifestation takes place only when the total capacity (himmat-e-kulliya) is expressed in the partial capacity (himmat-e-juzviya). Thus the urge is created in man. It is first admitted by 'hajr-e-bahat' which obtains it from the divine light (tajalliy-e-azam). Explaining it he gives the example of a seal impressed upon

the wax. As the wax admits the inscription of the seal 'hajr-e-bahat', in the same way, gets the impression of the divine motive. Thereafter the soul and the 'sirr' admit the urge and from there it comes to the reason and heart and finally it enters the realm of the external senses. It makes all of them and when the external senses are dominated by that urge a new religion, nation or Caliphate comes into existence. Shah Waliullah takes here for granted that the urge must be divine. He had already asserted that the nature of man is good and divine and must thereby accept only that which is divine.[56]

God the Almighty imparts the humanity a new knowledge which continues to exist for a long time and from time to time is revived by the reformers (mujaddid). Here Shah Waliullah points out that the superman often considers the divine motive to lie inproximity with the divine light. Even Jesus Christ considered it so. But prophet Muhammad does not speak of any such thing. He means to point out that the urge (daj) and the divine light are different from each other, and those who have taken them as united are mistaken. Speaking of the perfection in man, he holds that it lies in his understanding the dangers hidden in his soul and nature and should also be aware of their nature. His awareness of them will help him

emancipate from the dangers and he will know the truth.[57]

Regarding the creation of the divine motive Shah Waliullah speaks of many possibilities. He asserts that the training of the human souls rests in the world of forms as form. Its form emerges out in accordance with the universal motive (daiya-e-kulliya) which manifests in the partial motive (daiya-e-juzviya), and the angels appointed for it work for the individuals in whom it is created. Thus he trains his soul accordingly. Such a man may even lead perfect man like 'qutub', 'mujaddid', etc. Another possibility lies in the fact that the angels appointed for a particular function perform it and the man for whom it is performed does not understand, someone else helps him to understand. In it he also includes the birds. It seems rather irrational that the birds could also give man the knowledge of particular things. However, it is mystical in nature and, hence, cannot be questioned.

That third possibility lies in the fact that the angels appointed for the remembrance of God may encircle the sufi and create in him the divine motive meant for him. In such a case if the heart admits the effects the sufi gets contentment and satisfaction and if the reason is influenced, the nature

is purified. There may be yet another possibility that the sufi might know the divine motive in his dream. Here he categorizes the dreams saying that the one related to the contentment and satisfaction is 'ruya' and the one related to the particular deeds is 'mukhatiba'. The angels, however, give the sufi the knowledge of the divine motive of which he is not aware, for all the knowledge either obtained by meditation (kashf) or inspiration (ilham) comes from the angels in the world of forms. Thus, the world of forms is the repository of knowledge and the angels in it are the agents.[58]

## CHAPTER - III

### METAPHYSICS - (Section I)

Synthesis, as we know, is the respositary of Shah Waliullah's metaphysics. To put it otherwise, we can say that Shah Waliullah's metaphysics is concealed in revealing the similarity between the Wahadatul Wujud (the unity of Existence) and the Wahadatul Shahood (unity in Appearance), the two famous schools of sufism. In order to understand Shah Waliullah's metaphysical position it becomes indispensable to comprehend the two positions, between them he tries to make a reconciliation. Keeping this in view, we must take upon ourselves to explain and discuss the metaphysics of Ibnul Arabi and Mujaddid Alfsani, the proponents of the two schools (Wahdatul wujud and Wahdatul Shahood) respectively. To begin with, we shall take up Ibnul Arabi's doctrine of the 'Unity of Existence'.

At the outset of our discussion of Ibnul Arabi's doctrine of the unity of Existence we should cast a perusive glance at the meaning of the Existence (wujud) itself. The etymology of existence suggests two different meanings.

Firstly, it means the concept or the idea of 'Being' existent (wujud bil mana al masdari). Secondly it means that it has an existence (wujud bi ma na mawjud). Absolute existence (wujud ul mutlaq) or Universal existence (wujudul Kulli) is the reality to which all existence owes its existence. Ibnul Arabi, as Affifi points out, uses the term existence in both the senses.[1]

Absolute existence has been used by Ibnul Arabi to communicate at least four senses, mentioned below :

i) Absolute in the sense that it is limited to no form and common to all forms (immanece).

ii) Absolute in the sense of not being in any form but transcending all forms (transcendence).

iii) Absolute in the sense of not being the cause of anything, self subsisting.

iv) Absolute in the sense of the reality of realities (Supreme).[2]

Sometimes Ibnul Arabi uses absolute existence in different misleading metaphors like blindness (Al ama), diacritical point (Al Nugtah) or the centre of the circle (Markazal da'ra). We here reproduce an extract from 'Fusus' P. 34, which is suggestive of the different meanings of absolute existence, "Were it not for the permeation of God

by means of this form, in all existents, the world would have no existence, just as, were it not for the intelligible universal realities (al haqaiq al ma'qual al Kulliyah) no predictions (ahkam) fof external objects would be possible.* Let us now understand the different meanings to which the extract leads us. (i) It may mean the unity of all individual beings in the past, present and future in one being whether it be the universal substance, primary matter or God (ii) It may mean that the absolute being manifests itself in all forms and discourse. (iii) It may mean as the source of all existence that has being (iv) It may mean the universal and the being of any other existent to a particular mode or manifestation.[3]

Being in the modern sense is an adjectival or substantival which determines or manifests itself in different modes, colours, shapes and space and time etc.[4]

The different meanings of absolute being create a confusion. It begins when Ibnul Arabi like Ashraqi's believes that being as existence is separable in the mind from the concept. Let us make it explicit by an example. The Universal concept is separable from the existence like the concept of man is mentally separable from the existence of man, but the concept and existence are inseparable in the

external world, so is the case with the being. The concept of being as Ibnul Arabi says is separable in the mind from the existence but it stands inseparable in the world of objects. The existents as a concept and Mahiyat (quiddity) are separable in the mind but identical in the world of objects.[5]

Ibnul Arabi envisages that the absolute reality is the source of all existence. Existence as concept is idential with the existence in the external world. From it follows that all existence owes its existence to One which is an obsolute reality. We only know the limited existences which Ibnul Arabi regards cannot origin in themselves and so must have a source of existence which is the absolute existence or absolute reality. The absolute existence and absolute reality refer to one and the same thing. By unity of existence Ibnul Arabi means that the absolute existence is the source and cause of all existence.[6]

There has been a controversy among the Philosophers regarding the essence and existence (Dhat & Wujud). Some believe them to be identical and others separable. Ibnul Arabi is lined with the former. He says the absolute existence whose existence, and essence are identical (Muwjudán bi wujudun huwa anynuhu) or whose existence is

necessary (wajibul wujudi li dhatihi) is the source of all being in the sense of a reality. This essence is all realised or realisable with the properties and accidents. Upon the manifestations of existence and essence, the mind exerts the notion of abstract existence.[7]

With it we come to the problem of the separation of existence in thought. The absolute existence is separable from the absolute existent in thought. The quality of a thing separated in the mind is mere conception. The existence cannot be conceived in any thing other than 'Mahiyat' of a thing. According to Affifi Ibnul Arabi and Ishraqi, when separate the existence and concept of a thing commit a logical contradiction by making an existential proposition a predictional proposition. In this way Ibnul Arabi seeks to prove that the absolute existence is the source of all that exists.[8]

With this we come to the problem of being and not being. According to Ibnul Arabi, all that has a being must exist in one form or the other, to this he calls 'awalim' or 'maratib' (Planes or stages). According to him there are four types of being : (1) Being in the external world (wujud al shy'ifil aynali) (things in existence) (2) Intelligible being (wujud al shy'fil ilm) (3) Being of

a thing in spoken words (wujud al shy'il alfaz) and (4) Being of a thing in script (wujud al shy'il requm). All that exist must manifest itself in one or the other of these stages. Existing in none of them is not being. If a thing exists in one of these planes and does not exist in the other is a being in the plane in which it exists and is not being in the plane in which it does not exist. Here it seems, as if Ibnul Arabi were to prove that a thing may exist conceptually and may not exist as a concrete object.[9]

Regarding God Ibnul Arabi thinks that He has the knowledge of things prior to their existence in the external world. Thus things exist in two planes : (1) Intelligible being (2) Concrete being (being of a thing in the external world). To us they must exist in the concrete form in the external world. The intelligible being of them is in God. On it he bases his concept of universe and man. He regards the universe to be eternal and temporal simultaneously. It is eternal because, it is in the knowledge of God and temporal because it has a concrete being, that is, it exists in the external world.[10]

SPECIES OF BEING

Being

| | |
|---|---|
| Absolute<br>Divine Essence<br>Unqualified | Relative<br>Phenomenal<br>world |
| Independent<br>(Substances) | Dependent<br>Atributes accidents<br>special and temporal<br>relations |
| Material<br>(Bodies) | Sprititual<br>(pure spirits) |

Relative being may either be actual external world or potential. To This, he sometimes calls possible being. By not being he means, a thing existing in neither of the planes. A thing existing in one and not existing in the other plane, for instance, a thing may exist as idea in the mind and may not have any existence in the external world is not non-being. Pure non being is not possible, it can only be imagined. We can conceive its opposite, logical contradiction or a reason of its non-existence (Al shart al mushhibu li nafyihi).[11]

There are three types of beings :

(1) Necessary being (2) contingent being (3) impossible being. Necessary being means the being whose existence is

itself necessitated or which exists per se. It is God alone. A contingent being is one whose existence is not essential. Its being and not being are equally possible. An impossible being is one whose non existence is derived from some reason.[12]

In the doctrine of Ibnul Arabi, there is no place for possible or contingent being except that he calls Ayanussabita as possible. In reality, they exist as potentialities which must necessarily be actualised. The categories of contingent being are denied because an existence must either be necessary or be made necessary (wajibul wujud bil Ghyer). In this way Ibnul Arabi comes to conclude that there are two types of beings, namely the necessary being and the impossible being.[13]

Ibnul Arabi considers that there is only one reality but it is viewed from two angels. In the sense of reality we call it 'Haq' when we take the essence into consideration; in the sense of appearance we call it Khalq, manifesting its essence. Both are identical. There is a unity in diversity. 'Haq' & 'Khalq' are two subjective aspects of the one. The diversity is empirical. When we regard Him through Him, He is all essence. When we regard Him through ourselves, He is in things or He is in His manifestation.

The existing difference between one and many is actually no difference. Multiplicity is due to different points of view, not to an actual division in one essence. (Ayn). In the metaphysics of Ibnul Arabi, onto logically speaking, there is a reality transcending the phenomenal world and a multiplicity of subjectivities finding their explanation in the grounds of essential unity.[14]

Ibnul Arabi explains this duality on logical grounds. The objects in the phenomenal world are contingent beings, but it is necessary that they should be self subsisting and thereby necessary beings. Their eternity is affirmed on the same ground. Logically speaking the contingent beings must have their existence in a necessary being in the form of potentiality or they could not have come in the existence. Let us recall as we have said before, that Ibnul Arabi reduces all into one reality; one stands as a continuant to its occurants or a substance to its accidents. The one is logically different from them but actually one with them. It is due to our finite minds that we make a distinction between one and many and consider that there is plurality of beings. According to Ibnul Arabi, a mystic can transcend into a super mental state-intuition and see the underlying reality of many. We multiply the one due to Ahkam (predication).

The fact regarding the difference of colour, shape and spatio-temporal relations are actually nothing.[15]

All that has been written till now brings us to some paradoxes like 'He is I' and 'I am not He'. Haq is Khalq and Khalq is not Haq. These paradoxes are seeming paradoxes. In reality there is nothing like that. According to Ibnul Arabi, there is a complete reciprocity and a mutual dependence between one and the many. None of them has a meaning without the other. A verse of Ibnul Arabi would make it explicit :

He praises me and I praise Him,
And He worships me and I worship Him.
In one state I acknowledge Him
and in the ayan I deny Him.
He knows me and I know Him not,
and I know Him and behold Him.
How can He be independent,
When I help Him and assist Him ?
In my knowing Him, I create Him.
Thus we are informed in the Tradition,
And in me His object is realised.

Ibnul Arabi's concept of monism : In his monistic doctrine, we find a unity of Hallaj's doctrine of 'Lahut'

and 'Nasut', Asharites view of universal substance and neo-platonic doctrine of the One. Inspite of the combination we cannot assert and claim that Ibnul Arabi's doctrine of monism is identical with any one of them. Hallaj's doctrine of form and essence seems to have paved the way for Ibnul Arabi's pantheistic doctrine. More often that not Ibnul Arabi uses the terms 'Lahut' and 'Nasut'. Similarly, he uses the terms 'Tul' and 'Arz' (Length and breadth), 'Material' and 'Spiritual' in his metaphysics. Ibnul Arabi's Alamal Amr, Alamal Ghayb, Alamal Arwah and Alamal Mani are identical with Hallaj's length 'Tul or Lahut) and his Alamal Khalq, Alamal Tabih, Alamal Jasd are identical with Hallaj's breadth (Ard, Nasut) but there is a fundamental difference between t he two, for Hallaj's lahut and Nasut (spiritual and the material) are of the different nature but for Ibnul Arabi, they are the two aspects of the one, the form and the essence are different names for the one.[16]

Like Hallaj, Ibnul Arabi never admits the theory of incarnation. He neither separates man from reality nor believes in the fusion of reality in man. Repudiating Hallaj, Ibnul Arabi says,

'Ana sirrul Haqqi Mal Haqqu Ana'.

The two are always there and there is no sense of saying

that one becomes the other.[17]

Relation between the real and the phenomenal :

Ibnul Arabi often explains the relation between the real and the phenomenal world metaphorically. Since these metaphors are ambiguous, much care should be taken in interpreting them, else He may be understood contrary to what he is. First, he explains the relation between the real and the phenomenal with the help of the metaphor of the mirror and the image. The one as an object sees its image in many mirrors appearing different in each of them. The world is a screen on which the shadow falls, whatever is seen on the screen is nothing but real. Secondly he offers the metaphor of permeation. The many permeates the one in the way as the qualities and colour permeate the substance, the one permeates the many as the food permeats the body. God is, as Ibnul Arabi conceives, our spiritual food for He is our essence and through us he is realised. Thirdly he offers the metaphor of 'Vessel'. The many springs from the one and shall return to it. The one is like a vessel to the many in which its essence subsists. Fourthly, he explains the relation with the metaphor of number like mathematical one. The one is a diacritical point. The relation between the one and the many is like the relation between one and

other infinite numbers coming from it. Fifthly, we come to the analogy of the body and its part. The body is an organic whole. Its parts though possessing an entity of their own, have none if separated from the body. The phenomenal world is like the parts having no entity without the organic whole, the one the parts are important for without them the body cannot be conceived. The phenomenal world thereby even after being the parts is important and necessary for the realisation of the one. Inspite of these metaphors the unity remains unexplained. Finally, Ibnul Arabi conceives that the super-mental state or intuition alone is able to perceive the unity.[18]

Ibnul Arabi should not be mistaken. He never regards the phenomenal world to be real in the sense the One is. He, of course, calls it Haq, the reality but never considers it to be Al-Haq, the real. According to him, the many has two aspects namely (i) the aspect of difference (Jihatul Farq) and (ii) essentially oneness with one another, actually, this is one aspect of unity (Jihatul Jama). The former aspect is summed up in what Ibnul Arabi calls contingency (Imkan), Slavery (Ubudiyyah) and temporalness (Huduth). The latter is what he calls necessity (wujub), lordship (rububiyyah) and eternity (qidam) and so on, and now we

know in what sense the slave is the lord and the apparent is the real and in what sense we should interpret Ibnul Arabi's paradoxes.[19]

It has been clearly explained that the duality of Haq and Khalq, the real and the material, is not actually any duality in Ibnul Arabi. This duality may be comprehended as identical to what we call differentiating the attributes. As regard to this, Ibnul Arabi uses two Arabic terms 'tanzih' and 'tashbih'. It may here be recalled that those terms have also been used by anthropomorphists and corporealists but it may be added to it that Ibnul Arabi does not mean quite the same as they do by these terms. A mushaobihist considers God to be having all attributes comparable to man, or created beings, so is the case with a corporealist a 'mujassim' who ascribes all attributes comparable to man or created beings. It does not however mean that the above mentioned schools did not believe in transcendence of God. Even after possessing the attributes comparable to man, God can be transcendent. But a pantheist like Ibnul Arabi could not have given any admission to any such thought. For him, God hears and sees not because He has eyes or ears, but because He is immanent and hears and sees in the beings capable of these attributes.

In this sense, He is immanent. He is transcendent because His essence lies above all beings and inspite of being everywhere and in everything He is on par. Thus His essence cannot be individualised and so He is transcendent. In this way he reduces the term Tanzih and Tashbih to mean absoluteness and limitedness (taqid). In repudiating the doctrine of anthropomorphism Ibnul Arabi asserts, it is true that God has hands and feet as the Quran describes but the truth is not embodied in the doctrine of Anthropomorphists. When the Quran ascribes these attributes to Him, it means that he is hands and feet of all those having hands and feet. This limited manifestation of God is Tashbih or immanence but to say that he is an anthropomorphic being in the sense of the upholders of anthropomorphism is wrong. The very being of God is beyond all limitations. He is in every thing and yet above all things. On the same contention Ibnul Arabi rejects the Christian doctrine of incarnation 'Hulul'. To him, it is true that God is Christ but he is Christ in the sense in which He is in everything. To make it explicit we may say that He is Christ and He is other created beings either but to say that Christ is God is identical to limit Him to one form which according to Ibnul Arabi is infidelity. Ibnul Arabi envisages that

complete reality can be understood only when it is viewed by taking the transcendence and immanence both into account. He adds that Islam is the only religion which treats the both aspects of reality at par. In support of it, a quotation in verse is here rendered :

"If you assert (pure) transendence you limit God,
And if you assert (pure) immanence you define Him.
But if you assert both things, you follow the right course,
And you are a leader and master in gnosis.
He who asserts duality is a polytheist,
And he who asserts oneness is a unitarian.
Beware of tashbih if you couple (i.e. God and Universe),
And beware of Tanzih if you assert oneness.
You are not He, nay, you are He, and you see Him in
The ayan of things, absolute and limited."

"The Haq of whom transcendence is asserted is the same as Khalq of whom immanence is asserted although (logically) the creator is distinguished from the created."

Ibnul Arabi whenever says that God is in everything treats it as a logical proposition but always denies the converse of it that everything is 'God'. The two aspects transcendence and immanence constitute reality. Haq constitutes transcendence and Khalq constitutes immanence. Let us

see all the possibilities by which transcendence can be comprehended and asserted.[20]

There can be three possibilities. In the first a man asserts God to be transcendent. Now man has his own limitations so Ibnul Arabi holds the view that man's assertion of his (his God) transcendence is limited whatever abstract form man may apply, it will remain limited and God's transcendence is beyond all limitations. The other possibility of admitting His transcendence is created by our intellect. According to Ibnul Arabi our intellect cannot perceive anything beyond the phenomenal world, for its knowledge is based on it. The intellect conceives the unity (Tawhid) but as Ibnul Arabi says it is of 'Muwahid' (unitarian) and not of God. 'God's' unity in the sense of complete transcendence is not possible to be understood by the intellect which has its own limitations. Another possibility of its comprehension is correct in the unaided intellect. Ibnul Arabi's view of transcendence is an echo of Hallaj's view. A sufi can understand the complete unity in ecstatic flight otherwise God alone knows the real transcendence. A sufi understands it with the help of super-mental intuition. This higher form of transcendence is beyond all assertions. The unity of transcendence by

Ibnul Arabi is called 'Tamzih al tauhid'. Transcendence in the real sense is different from that understood by intellect. The one comprehended by it is a logical co-relative of immanence.[21]

As regards to the definition of God, Ibnul Arabi says that no complete definition of God can be given for the higher form of transcendence is beyond the reach of our knowledge and the transcendence comprehended by us is one reached by our intellect, the logical corelative of immanence. It is, therefore, whatever definition of God is given, will be on the basis of the transcendence and immanence comprehended by us and since human knowledge is incomplete, no real and complete definition of God can be put forward.[22]

Thus there are two forms of transcendence; one belonging to the divine essence per se and the other belonging to Godhood comprehended by intellect as a logical corelative of immanence. The attributes of transcendence are predicable of the later form. These attributes are summed up in absoluteness (Itlaq) is contracted with the limitedness (Taqyid). The transcendence asserted by intellect assumes the following forms. He is transcendent in the sense of being absolute or He is transcendent in the sense of necessary being, self begotten and self caused as contrasted

with contingent being, created being or caused being of the phenomenal world. He may be called transcendent in the sense that He is unknowable and uncommunicable and beyond all proofs. This second kind of transcendence if taken as the whole explanation of immanence is rejected by Ibnul Arabi. According to him reality is constituted of both transcendence and immanence.[23]

Causality and its place in Ibnul Arabi's system :-

Causality has been a problem with all the philosophers of all ages. It may be recalled here that there are two types of theories put forward to explain the doctrine of causality; namely the sequence theory of causality and correspondence theory of causality. There are philosophers like Hume and Ghazali who refute the latter and uphold the former theory. Ibnul Arabi himself admits the doctrine of causality which is quite differant from both the above said theories. It should be borne in mind that Wahadatul Wujud hardly admits any possibility of causality, for the proponents believe that the phenomenal world is the self realization or manifestation of God and reality (Haq) and Khalq is one. Ibnul Arabi, similarly asserts that cause and effect are mere terms which, to him, are nothing but subjective categories. If at all the causality is to be upheld,

Ibnul Arabi says that God is the cause and the phenomenal world is the effect. In this way, he believes in it, but in the other he refutes it which we shall see later.[24]

To begin with, he makes a distinction between the two ways of causality (1) causality applied to the universe as a whole which would mean that the universe is caused by something which is its cause. The question comes, what is it, that has caused it ? (2) The causality applied to the parts of the universe meaning thereby the causal connection perceived in the parts of the universe. Ibnul Arabi raises no objection to it, but this kind of causality is immanent and not transcendent, the parts of the universe as an organic whole stand in a causal relation, with one continuant (the divine essence). The divine essence controls the phenomenal world. The causal relation noticed in the universe is actually a relation between one divine aspect and the other belonging to the same continuant. The 'lahut' one divine aspect is the cause and the 'Nasut' is the effect. He does not admit the reality of other causes for doing so, because it will make him a polytheist.[25]

This assertion of Ibnul Arabi makes the cause and effect identical. The unaided intellect is at a loss to understand and explain it. A sufi by virtue of his

intuition understands the problem in the following manner. Cause and effect both are the aspects of reality. The cause (so called) is as a being both an essence and a form. By virtue of its being essence it is a cause and by virtue of its being a form is an effect. Similarly, the effect (so called) as being is an essence and a form. By virtue of its being an essence it is a cause of some other aspect and by virtue of its being a form it is an effect of some other aspect. In this way cause and effect are identical, that is a cause is a cause and an effect simultaneously. The cause factors are determined by effect factors, to say it in other words, a cause is an effect of its own effect, not in the sense of being produced but in the sense of being determined. This doctrine can be apprehended if we believe in the impossibility of the plurality of causes. Considering a cause to be having the other cause brings us to the question as to what is the other. If the cause and effect are taken to be one, all is then considered as the modes of one cause or the modes of one effect. This notion of causality helps to explain 'becoming'. All changes taking place in the world, which Ibnul 'Arabi calls creation, are thus explained. The activity and the passivity of the form and essence run

side by side.[26]

At the outset of it, Ibnul Arabi asks a question whether between the world and God there is a causal relation or a conditional relation. If God is a cause (Illah) or a condition, (Shart), it means universe is taken as a contingent being as contrasted with necessary being. The necessary being is self existent and self subsistent. God is a condition to the universe, Ibnul Arabi refutes. He thinks that from a condition of a thing it does not follow that it must exist. For instance to be alive is a condition to acquire knowledge or to have legs is a condition to be able to walk but from the condition of life the knowledge does not entail or the condition of having legs does not necessarily mean the ability of walking. This condition of a thing does not necessarily entail the existence of a thing. Of course, the existence of a thing presumes a condition.[27]

A cause as cause must produce its effect. Thus existence of effect necessarily entails from the cause. In this way Ibnul Arabi considers that between God and world there is a causal relation. Agreeing with Asharites and other philosophers, the Shykh argues that God had the universe in His knowledge and since it was in Him, it must have come into existence. Some other philosophers held

that the universe was in the divine essence and God wanted to manifest Himself externally. Ibnul Arabi agrees to this view but admits no temporal priority. He does not share this view of creation that the universe was created out of nothing. He refutes the creation ex nihilo.[28]

Regarding the eternity of the world Ibnul Arabi says that it is eternal because it was never non-existent but apart from it he believes that God is the only eternal being and the universe being the outward expression of eternal, infinite and everlasting being is also eternal, infinite and everlasting. Regarding the next world, Ibnul Arabi thinks that it is always in making. This world and the next world are mere names, the things when annihilated are transferred to the next world to come into existence again. The moment in which one form disappears is similar to the one in which the other comes into existence. There is no other process of creation apart from it. The time interval, as conceived by others in the prpcess of creation has no meaning for Ibnul Arabi. He only believes in the logical priority of cause to effect.[29]

Like Ibn Rushd, Ibnul Arabi believes that a thing is a renewed existence. He thinks that a thing is an eternal existent in its 'subut' and a temporal existence in its

'zuhoor'. To say that a thing exists is nothing more than to say that some one appeared in the house today. The appearance of today does not employ that he had no previous existence. In a passage in 'Fusus' Ibnul Arabi says that God does not create any thing. Creation (Takwim) is the concrete manifestation of a thing and it belongs to itself. To say that something is in existence means that it has manifested itself. God only wills a thing to reveal itself in concrete manifestation. God does not will and command which does not necessarily entail from the things themselves or from the nature or laws of things. Laws of things, according to Ibnul Arabi, are nothing but God. All things in their essence exist in one cause, that is, the divine essence which manifests itself in concrete form. To explain causality on logical grounds, Ibnul Arabi admits the possibility of two triads, each corresponding to the other. One triad consists of essence, will and word. It is the trinity of God. The second trinity is constituted of essence, obedience and learning. It is the trinity of world.[30]

God is the creator or cause in this sense only. The world is eternal in the same sense. He derived the eternity of the world in the sense that co-eternal with God is only the essence of the world and not the forms. Ibnul Arabi

does not admit the temporal interval in the process of creation. He only believes in the logical priority of before and after. Going a step forward he says that the creator and created are related in the way as yesterday with today. They cannot be conceived to be temporally related for they are themselves time.[31]

Causality of the divine names : Ibnul Arabi considers the divine names to be the cause of things (in the way as the Asharites consider the divine knowledge to be the cause of creation). The divine names are considered by him as the line of force; each of them demands. They are the attributes of Godhead. For instance the knower demands something to be known and the creator something to be created. Each of then corresponds to an aspect of reality and in a way it is the cause of that aspect. Every aspect (wajah) and every reality (Haqiqah) corresponds to some divine name. It may be made clear that he always does not call the divine names as causes. He sometimes calls them conditions. He goes on saying that God was when the world was not. This statement should be taken to mean that God was when the world was not and the divine names express the potentialities of God. With a view to reconciling his pantheistic doctrine with the moslem concept of Allah,

he indulges in a Metaphysical paradox and asserts at one place that we are the attributes of God and that the divine names have no meaning without the phenomenal world. And at another place, he says that God existed with all His divine names before the existence of the phenomenal world.

Essence - Attributes and names : As it has already been mentioned that the divine essence is the universal substance and the divine names are the names of the aspects of the divine essence, they are, as Ibnul Arabi thinks, the manifestation of divine essence in the external world (Majla or Mazhar). The attributes are the manifestation, they are limited or determined to one or the other aspect. The divine names are the manifestations of the divine substance in different degrees (Maratib).

To use the terminology of Spinoza, the divine substance in its absolute indeterminateness is a mode, void of all qualities. The thing in itself is not a substance, but the one substance which is indestructible and unchangeable. The destructive and changeable is only the accident (form) or manifestation.[32]

Ibnul Arabi considers that the attributes of God are neither the same nor other than the same. He considers them to be mere relations, determining the manifestation. The

attributes to Ibnul Arabi are like the intelligible ideas of Plato which are no external reality, yet determining the external reality. Thus he considers attributes to be neither identical with God nor apart from Him. The divine names are multiplicity, determining the manifestation of the divine essence in one aspect or the other. Each of these qualities as aspect and is also identical with God. They even after determining an aspect remain one with the divine essence.

Reality in realtion to our knowledge : Reality in realtion to our knowledge has three aspects (1) Reality as we know it, we need not explain it for it stands evident and explained (2) Reality as manifested in the external world which is limited to our senses and intellect and in which the relations are thought of and seen. Though it is seen as multiplicity, yet Ibnul Arabi regards it a unity. Every part of the phenomenal world is the whole and thereby a unity in itself. It has the capacity of manifesting itself. The third aspect of reality can be viewed by intuition alone. It can be realised by a sufi but its logical existence can be inferred. It has no other attritute except necessary being. It is certainly God very much different from a fictitious deity. Ibnul Arabi admits no such conception of

God which deprives Him of this absoluteness and makes Him a lesser unity. He never admits any reality apart from Him.[33]

According to Ibnul Arabi, reality can be conceived through the phenomenal world. A quotation to make it clear is rendered. "The key to the mystry of lorship is thou" (The phenomenal). Apart from it the reality as conceived is a logical correlative of the world. So the attributes of the phenomenal world do demand their logical correlatives such as contingency demands necessity, finitude infinity and relativeness absoluteness. The fundamental difference between reality as conceived in (i) and in (ii) is that in (i) transcendental attributes are logical correlatives of immanent attributes which have no application and the attributes of God in relation to the universe. The latter have been already explained. Now we have to explain the transcendental attributes (Sifatal tawzih) and the immanent attributes (sifatal tashbih). We must not predicate of Him the attributes like hearing or seeing. Although he is the essence of all that hears and sees. It is by way of marking out the God - head from the two subjective aspects of reality. Let us enquire into the meaning of this proposition of Ibnul Arabi that we ourselves including the phenomenal world are the attributes of God. There is nothing in the phenomenal

world which can be attributed to Him. His meaning and spirit are not found in the phenomenal world. The first part of the preposition explains the immanence of God, the second part gives an account of His transcendence. To quote 'Glory to him, who is meant by all the attributes of the Godhood and created objects 'Our names are His names, He is called Abu said al Kharraz".[34]

The reality which is not directly perceived, but logically inferred is like a substance perceived by its accidents. It admits no oppositions or contradictions, yet is a unity of all oppositions or contradictions. It has no quality or quantity, yet all qualities and quantities come from it. Like substance it can be perceived in the states (modes) only, which, in this case, is the phenomenal world. This reality is often referred by vague terms as "pure light", as Ishraqis call it, or "pure good" or blindness 'Al-Ama'.[35]

It is a state of complete unity. It is not an object of worship. The object of worship is the Lord not the one. This unity admits no plurality. Though multiplicity belongs to it, yet it is a unity. Multiplicity belongs to blindness (Al-Ama) of which it can never be emancipated. It is the state of the 'one to whom belongs the burning splendour.

The manifestation of multiplicity in the phenomenal world is to vanish, no one will remain except God. The veil of unity can never be removed. To quote : Do not hope. O' my friend ; the veil of the unity will ever be removed", Limit your hope, therefore, to the attainment of knowledge of the Oneness, the unity of divine Names".[36]

According to Ibnul Arabi reality as explained in absolute agnosticism and gnosticism meet in the essential unity. Only God knows what He really is. The divine essence is not known even by a sufi because he belongs to multiplicity. Ibnul Arabi admits no such personal God either within or outside the universe controlling it externally. This forms the nucleus of Ibnul Arabi's Metaphysics. God being an object of belief is an object of our knowledge. He has both positive and negative attributes. He is known to us by us. In this sense God becomes only a phrase.[37]

In place of ethical God of Islam Ibn Arabi's God is identical with the universe who is a principle controlling the universe. The absolute is reduced into a mere nominal or logical relation. His attributes belong to his rank (almartaba, al Daraja) God does not create but createdness belongs to His rank. In fact, the creator and the created

are one and the same. Ibnul Arabi has tried to keep the ethical and personal God of Islam in the back ground, we always see his pantheistic God on the forefront.[38]

Explanation of ethical & personal names : In order to explain the ethical and personal names of God, he uses two methods, In the first place he reduces the names in the mere logical and psychological relations. In the second place he gives a philology of terms. Ibnul Arabi does not touch those attributes which have a pantheistic bearing. A common name of God, if it fits in his doctrine of pantheism, he steals the sight from it. Only those attributes are explained which have no pantheistic bearing and interprets them in accordance with his methods mentioned above. The explanation of such attributes follows in 'Futuhat'. The presence of God which he calls 'Hadrat' is a state of mystic mind. A mystic realises His presence in the objects. Here the meaning of 'Hadrat' is different from the meaning of five 'Hadara' which are the five states of being. The presence of Godhead (Alhadaratul Ilahiya) is the state in which God is revealed as 'Allah'. The attribute of His mercifulness is revealed in the mercifulness in the universe. The interpretation belongs to Ibnul Arabi himself.[39]

Each of the 'Hadara' has two aspects, one transcendental

and the other immanent. We shall first consider the aspects of transcendence which is explained with the help of philological method. The philological method even changes the forms of the names. To illustrate it the following examples are given :

1. The name 'Almumin' (peace giver) is interpreted as extinction of the supplication of the soul, and is identified with the mystic intuition.

2. Aljabbar (all compeller). Jabbar is derived from 'Jabr' which means compulsion but this compulsion, according to Ibnul Arabi is internal not external. He interprets it as necessity against contingence. All things follow their inner law of necessity, and so compulsion on the part of God is the necessary manifestation of Him in things.

3. Almutakabbir (The proud), is interpreted to mean that he transcends his contingent attributes.

4. Alghaffar (the pardoner). He derives it from Ghaffar the veil or cover and interprets it as His veiling in the forms 'Azzahar', the external is the greatest form in which he veils.

5. Aladil (Just one) is derived from 'Aladl' which he takes to mean to incline from one thing to another. According to him, God has inclined from His essential necessity

(Hadaratul wujubildati) to that phenomenal necessity(Hadrat-Alwajubilghayer). Ibnul Arabi explains the will (irada) in a similar manner, the state unmanifested is in the state of equilibrium (ittadal) and the state of manifestation is adl. The divine essence is inclined to manifest itself in the phenomenal world.

6. Allatif (the subtle, the benevolent and the most pleasant) is understood by him as substance. The explanation that Ibnul Arabi prefers for it is almost materialistic. God cannot be more subtle than he is in the phenomenal world. He is most obvious in the manifestations. No eye sees anything other than He. Ibnul Arabi quotes all the passages of Quran and prophetic traditions to support his pantheistic doctrine.

7. Al Hafiz (All preserving one) is rendered to interpretation as the preservor of all existence in the sense of being. He submits in all beings to preserve their essense.

8. Almuqit (the provider) is interpreted to mean the feeder with all beings.

9. Al Raqib (thewatchful ) is interpreted to mean the being watchful as the essence of all things. God is watchful of all things because He is the essence of all things.

10. Alsami (Hearing one) is often interpreted in relation

to all knowing (Alalim) in the sense of revealing Himself to Himself. All hearing, Ibnul Arabi thinks, on the part of God means responding to the inner call of the things lying in the state of latency. Hallaj and Ibnul Arabi both agree to this view with a difference of potentiality of multiplicity, one believing in it and the other dis-agreeing with it. It is on this basis that Ibnul Arabi builds the edifice of "Ayanalthabita" which shall be considered later.

11. Almujib (The responder) : He interprets it as responding to the call of contingent things in the sense as a substance responds to the calls of its forms. It becomes what its forms want it to be. In the same way God responds to the contingence latent in Him and becomes what it calls to be.

12. Al Dahr : (Time), by him it is taken to mean infinity. Time to him is eternity and everlastingness and in between. God is extended to infinity.[40]

Similarly, he interprets many other names. His interpretation is based on the object he has in his concept. The creative God of Islam is no more creative but remains in the infinite forms. The problem of ethical and personal attributes comes when there is a duality of God and universe that is something other than God, but Ibnul Arabi's system admits no such possibility. Any kind of duality or plurality

whether be it the duality of God and universe or the plurality of attributes is according to him subjective. But Ibnul Arabi himself often makes the subjective as objective inspite of his warning to us. The duality of God and universe which is held by him as subjective often becomes more concrete and real than his system should admit it.[41]

The two aspects of the divine names : The description of the two aspects of the divine names is another way of explaining the distinction between the real and the phenomenal. One aspect of the divine names belongs to the real unity and the other to the external world. Each of the divine names expresses one or the other activity of the infinite activities of the divine essence. The external world being manifestation is nothing but the divine names and it is passive. The former aspect is Al Tahaqquq (the point of view of the real), the later he calls Al takhalluq (the point of view of the created). The way with which the manifestation becomes possible is called Alta-alluq.[42]

The divine names are active in relation to Ayan al thabita. They are nothing but the phenomenal world in latency. It is a hierarchy. The higher one is active in relation to the lower one and the lower is passive in relation to the higher one.

It is an important point in the metaphysics of Ibnul Arabi that he is categorically convinced that there is only one reality. Multiplicity, activity, passivity, attributes and names are merely the modes of that one Reality.[43] The fixed Prototypes are the latent realities (Ayan al thabita)

It is for the first time that Ibnul Arabi uses the term (Ayanalthabita) in Muslim philosophy by which he means the latent reality in the divine essence. We shall see later on that the Ayanal-thabita of Ibnul Arabi has a resemblence to the Platonic ideas on one hand and the Ishraqis (wujude dhahri) and the scholastic attributes and essence on the other. At present it will suffice to say that according to Ibnul Arabi, the phenomenal world was present in the divine essence as potentiality. Their knowledge is the divine knowledge of His becoming in future. God knows Himself through Himself. The eternal knowledge of Him made Him known of "Ayanal thabita" lying in him as potentialities. They are expressed in the terms of divine names. The Ayanul Thabita have a two fold nature. As Ayan, they are the intelligible ideas of God and they are the modes of the divine essence. This two fold nature is explained by using the terms of "Mahiya" and "Huwayyah".

As mahiya the 'Ayan' are the intelligible ideas. As huwayyah they are the essential modes of the divine essence.[44]

Since the Ayanalthabita are the potentialities in the divine essence they cannot be regarded as separate from it. They, as states of the divine essence, have no other existence than the divine essence. We can say so because the mental states of our mind are nothing apart from it. In the same way the Ayanulthabita are the divine essence themselves. Conceptually, of course, we can separate them from the essence as states, as we do it in case of our mind and its states. Similarly the 'Ayanalthabita' are the parts of the divine essence as potentialities, but as states they can conceptually be separated from the divine essence. Ibnul Arabi calls them as non-existents. By saying so he only means that they do not exist externally. Having gone through his theory of Ayanalthabita, one is led to think if Ayanalthabita can stand apart as concrete forms or if they are simply the intelligible ideas of God. In connection with this we shall quote Ibnul Arabi himself. Regarding the question about Ayanalthabita Ibnul Arabi profers two explanations. In accordance with the first the Ayanalthabita are the states of non-existence transferred into existence. In accordance with the second, it is

'hukm' or command brought into the intelligible relation with the ayan of God. It is the relation of the image and the mirror. The so called thing, the external object, the contingent ayan must see each other in and through the mirror of the Ayan of God. God manifests them and they see each other when He manifests Himself in the other. In the state of latency they are mere non-existents. However, in any case, Ibnul Arabi emphasises on the denial of the existence of Ayanal thabita. It is never considered as the objective being having an independent existence. Even as intelligible ideas, the ayanal thabita are nothing but the essence not determined or particularized. In order to explain it Ibnul Arabi uses rehetoric language. God revealed himself to Himself in the most holy emanation in the forms of ayan (al Faydal Aqdas). Ibnul Arabi holds that there was nothing in the beginning. God at the outset manifested Himself in the 'ayan al thabita'. In other words, He enveloped 'ayanal thabita' with existence (albasa la-yan alwujud). To say it explicitly, God first manifested Himself in the essence of things and thereafter bestowed the existence on it (akwan). It means that the very being of things including His own being is in Him and by manifesting Himself in the being of things (ayan)

and enveloping them with existence He manifested Himself in the world. It is for this reason that the philosophers belonging to 'wahadatalwujud' emphatically advocate that God is the only existence and the other existences are nothing but the manifestation of the one.[45]

Ibnul Arabi often presents 'Ayanul thabita' as the pure and simple ideas and sometimes he describes them to be the essence of things. Not only this, but he also calls them the spirits. 'Ayanalthabita', as he views them, are the intelligible forms in the consciousness of God. God cognises them with the help of their essence or spirit (Ruh). His knowledge of them is not based on perception, but he cognises them as they are with him in his consciousness with their own essence. The knowledge based on perception is acquired by the mind of man in which there is a duality l/ing in thinking and being thought. God cognises the ayanal thabita through their spirit. His knowledge of them is based on the complete unity of them with Him.[46]

Having described the ayanalthabita, we now come to their position in the world. The ayanalthabita have an intermediary position between God and the phenomenal world. They are the beginnings of the future manifestations. To describe it more clearly, we can say that by cognising the

ayanal thabita He revealed Himself in them and through them in the 'Ayan' of things. To Ibnul Arabi no sufi can have the knowledge of the beginning of this process, that is to say when God cognised the intelligible forms, present in his conciousness. The knowledge of ayanal thabita is possible for a sufi by making efforts to know his own essence 'ayan'. Having realised his own essence, he can attain the knowledge of the divine essence. The Ayanal thabita, being intermediary between the divine and the phenomenal world, are at the same time passive and active. They are passive as the intelligible forms in the concious-ness of the divine being and active as the potentialities to become the future existent. Ibnul Arabi attributes function and activity to ayanal thabita. This attribute makes them potentiality, having a determination to become actuality. The determination or (hukm) is only a logical determination.

His Pantheism - We have explained the doctrine of Ibnul Arabi to a great extent. Our explanation was so far based on logical grounds. We shall now speak of the metaphysical grounds of his pantheism.[47]

Ibnul Arabi, like other pantheists, considers God to be the only existence. He exists above all times. His

existence is self proved and self evident. To him no proof of existence is required for it stands indispensible and proved. He thinks what proof can be required when we know that He exists in every thing or, in other words, all the objects are His manifestation. He is present in the essence or ayen of everything. Owing to this, no proof of His existence is required. He existed all times and shall ever be. There is not even a 'there' 'where', the essence of all things is one. It means that God alone exists and there is no existence apart from His. The multiplicity of existence is simply the modes of the Reality. God alone is the ultimate reality. He is infinite, eternal and real.[48]

Ibnul Arabi tries to base his pantheism in Islam, but there is undoubtedly a difference between God of Islam and pantheism of Ibnul Arabi. Islam propagates a belief in the proposition that there is God and God exists alone, He is eternal, infinite and real. The difference is seen in the proposition of pantheism that God is in every thing. To be is different from to be in everything. The doctrine of pantheism is based on the philosophical speculations of the unity of the universe with God. Like other pantheists Ibnul Arabi also believes in only one existence and it is the existence of God. There is something more which

distinguishes him from other pantheists like 'Hallaj'. Before coming to this, let us make it clear that pantheism is either looked upon from a philosophical point of view or a sufi point of view. A sufi arrives at pantheism with the help of his experience. The philosopher infers pantheism from the unity of the universe with God. Ibnul Arabi reaches it with the help of both. Having perceived the essence of the universe, he concludes its unity with God. Unlike other pantheist sufis, he defies the belief in the union with God. Contrary to this he holds that for a sufi to become one with Him, has to realize himself. He has to see what exists in Him. It means that there is nothing like becoming one with Him as it shows the duality of existence. He is the only existence and is present in Him as well. What is required on the part of a sufi is to realize his own essence (ayan) through which He manifests Himself. Thus there is no question of union with Him for He is in everything. This belief makes Ibnul Arabi distinguished from other pantheists. He is indeed a thorough going pantheist. What he shares with others is the belief in the unity and absoluteness of God. The pantheists advocate the belief in 'tauhid al mutlaq'. God is one and absolute.[49]

Inspite of the fact that all the objects are the

manifestation of God, there is bound to be a distinction between Him and His manifestations. His manifestations are the forms, and as forms, we depend on Him. Our dependence distinguishes us from Him. Who is independent. Ibnul Arabi holds 'so on Him alone we depend for everything - our dependence on other things is in reality dependence on Him for they are nothing but His modes. In connection with the dependence on God Bayazid Bistami reached the similar truth. He once asked God : 'O, Lord, with what can I draw near to thee ? Thereupon God replied : "with that which does not belong to me, with servility and dependence". Thus it is clear that the manifesting and the manifested are different from one another. The manifested depends on the manifesting. In this way the worship to God is justified. We, inspite of being His manifestation, worship Him as forms depending on Him.[50]

Ibnul Arabi does not believe in God's immanence only. He also holds the belief in His transcendence. Although He is manifested in every thing, yet He transcends the universe. He sometimes emphasises on His immanence and identifies Him with the primal substance of Asharites and the phenomenal world with its states or accidents. Contrary to this he sometimes speaks of His transcendence. As a matter of fact,

what he holds is that God is reflected in the objects as He manifests Himself in them. In other words, the objects are the mirror reflecting His being and perfection. It is obvious that the reflection is different from what reflects. That is to say the being reflected in the mirror is not mere reflection but more than that. The reflection makes him immanent. But he stands apart as being reflecting. To conclude we quote Ibnul Arabi. He says, "For He, glory to Him, has no resemblance whatever to His creation. His essence cannot be apprehended by us, so we cannot compare it with tangible objects, neither are his actions like ours etc. (Fut. 1, p-120, cf. Section on transcendence and immanence).[51]

We have spoken of the immanence and transcendence of God. Let us understand his pantheism as compared to that of Plotinus. As Ibnul Arabi uses the terms like (Faiz), the over flow or the immanation of the divine being, we are led to believe that he was under the influence of Neoplatonic theory of immanation. But we are wrong to hold so. Ibnul Arabi propounds a theory of manifestation, not of immanation. He does not believe, like Plotinus that one thing at one time was immanated from God and from it came certain other things. Contrary to this, Ibnul Arabi

believes in the infinite manifestation of God. He manifests Himself in the infinite forms. In Ibnul Arabi's doctrine there is a circular movement. It ends where it begins. While in the theory of emanation the movement is in a straight line. Ibnul Arabi believes in the infinity of manifestation without any temporal association. The terms like first and last are relative. The intelligible forms or 'Ayanal thabita' were present in His consciousness. He cognised them, as a divine tradition explains, due to His love of being known God asserts in a divine tradition, "I was a hidden treasure, and I loved to be known, so I created the world that I might be known''. We quote it here to assert that no temporal possibility can be associated with the manifestation, Ibnul Arabi propounds. It is because that we do not know, nor can we know as to when He cognised the intelligible forms out of His love to be known. Thus we can safely assert that Ibnul Arabi's pantheism is not similar to that of Plotinus, there is no doubt he speaks of the degrees of manifestation. The perfect most is in man and the lowest is in the minerals. He also speaks of the different forms of manifestation. When He reveals Himself to Himself, it is 'Alahadiyah' (state of unity), when he reveals Himself in the essence or the blindness, it is

'al-ama'. His revelation in the phenomenal world is 'aljism al kulli'. His revelation in the state of Godhead is 'almartabah al ilYahiyyah' or Ayanal thabita. His manifestation, in the state of lordship, is 'alrububiyyah'. His revelation in the universal conciousness is the state called as 'Haqiqatul-haqaiq'. In this way he has given different names to the states and forms of manifestation. As he ascribes these names to Him, many of his critics are led to believe that he is following the doctrine of emanation. Let us understand it clearly that in Ibnul Arabi's doctrine there is only one existence manifesting itself in different forms. No other form manifested from Him can manifest itself into others. It is thus clear that he is not propounding the doctrine of emanation.[52]

His pantheism is based on Islamic sources. He derives his theory of reality largely from the Asharitew theory of primal substance. Here again, he does not echo the Asharites. There is a difference, as he himself admits, that the Asharites call the essence that underlies all phenomena, a substance, and he calls it God or the one. However, inspite of this difference, the primal substance of his doctrine comes from the theory of the external world of Asharites.

We have discussed the metaphysics of Ibnul Arabi which presents the 'wujudi' view. We shall now take up Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi, known as Mujaddid Alf Thani to understand the Shahudi point of view. The comprehension of the both will make it facile for us to understand Shah Waliullah, who aimed at synthesising (tatbiq) the view points of the two schools.

SECTION - II

In the previous section we have discussed Ibnul Arabi's metaphysics. The brief of it explicitly explains his position as the propounder of 'Wahdatul Wujud' or unityism. We shall now, in order to understand Shah Waliullah, discuss the metaphysics of Mujaddid Alf Thani, a great exponant of 'Wahdatul Shahud'. He is a sufi who stands in a juxtaposite contrast with Ibnul Arabi and criticises him for several reasons. We shall, at first, deal with his criticism for he himself builds the edifice of his thought out of the criticism of 'Wahdatul wujud'.

The main task of Ibnul Arabi was to explain Tauhid or unity.* To him Tauhid means oneness of God. As a matter of fact it is not only he to give it this meaning. Tauhid in Islamic perspective is so explained. By unity and oneness of God Ibnul Arabi thinks that He is the only existence and the world of objects is nothing other than

---

*The concept of Tauhid undergoes a historic development. There has been a vital difference of opinion regarding the meaning and concept of Tauhid. The philosophers of different schools have taken upon themselves to explain it and so also does Ibnul Arabi.

His manifestation. We have explained his point of view and the way he justifies it. At the moment it would suffice to say that Ibne Arabi believes the things to be the manifestation of God. The creation, as Ibne Arabi explains, is a form of emanation. The being in the complete unity is indeterminate (la taayun). In its descent or determination (taayun) it passes through five stages. The first two are 'Ilmi' or cognitive and the other three are Khariji or existential. In the first stage the being becomes conscious of itself. The consciousness of His attributes or Sifat was 'Ijmali' or brief.[1] In the second stage He becomes conscious of Himself. ~~In this stage He becomes conscious of Himself.~~ In this stage the consciousness of the attributes is 'tafaili' or in detail. Both these descents or determination are conceptual and being conceptual they are logical or 'dhahni'. From the third descent or determinations there begins the actual emanation. The third one is the 'Taayune-ruhi' or the determination as spirit or spirits. The unity emanates itself in several

---

*The word 'Ijmal' is the opposite of 'Tafail' and should, therefore, be translated as 'brief' and not 'general'.

spirits e.g. angles. The fourth descent is the 'Ta'ayune-Mithali' or ideal determination from which comes the world of ideas. The fifth and the final is the 'Taayuni-Jasadi' or physical determination which yields the world of objects. Ibne Arabi and his followers consider that these stages are the gradual realisations of what was latent in the attributes.[1]

The unity between 'Dhat' or being and 'Sifat' or attributes is explained in another way as well. God is manifold as regards His existence and one as regards His being and so He is 'Ahadiyyate Maqula' like Hayula or matter or a conceptual unity as regards His being. The divine names or Asma-e-Ilahiya are one with 'musamma' or the named for each one denotes one and the same being. The divine names are expressive of His attributes but the being denoted by them is certainly one and the same. Thus the unity of the attributes and essence is explained.[2]

Having spoken about the unity between God and his attributes Ibne Arabi comes to explain the rleation of the world with God. In explaining it he adopts two different approaches namely the negative approach and the positive approach. By adopting the former he negates the objective existence of the world and by taking the latter he affirms the existence of God. In the negation of the world he

proceeds by declaring that the world has no independent existence. The essence of the objects has no existence of its own. It is, as a matter of fact, an expression of the manifestation of God in infinite modes. The world thus, in spite of its multiplicity, does not exist in itself : what exists in itself is God and the world is the manifestation of the different modes. In order to justify ourselves we quote Ibne Arabi :

الاعيان ما شمت رائحة من الوجود

(The eyes perceive not even a bit of existence).

Taking the positive approach he affirms the existence of God as the Existence, and proceeding from it holds that the world is God as it is the manifestation of His modes. The unity differentiates itself in different modes and beyond them it cannot be perceived as their is a stage of absolute nothingness.[3] ما بعد هذا الا العدم المحض

(There is nothing beyond this but absolute nothingness). And in it the unity cannot be perceived. It can be perceived only in the modes of which the world is a manifestation. Hence the world is God. The unity between the world and God is explained through another experience called as Farq-bad-Jam' (difference after union). Whether a person considers God to be the only existence or the

world to be one with God, it means one and the same existence for the world is the 'zill!' or adumberation of the 'asl' or the actual 'Allah'.[4]

Having spoken the relation between world and God, Ibne Arabi speaks of the relation between man and God. It is clear as it is expressed in the verse :

نحن اقرب اليه من حبل الوريد

(We are nearer unto him than his life-artery).
It does not mean anything other than that God is the essence of the limbs of man. Man is created in His image as He Himself says :

خلق الآدم على صورته

(He created man after His own image).
There has been a controversy in interpreting this Quranic Verse. 'His' can be used either for man or for God with the difference of capital or small 'h'. Ibne-Arabi, however, interprets it as the image of God and utilises it for the support of his argument to prove the oneness of the essence of man and God. To him it means that man is the manifestation of His attributes. As a witness to it he possesses all of them in miniature form. By creating 'after His own Image he means that He has manifested in him all His attributes. Again it is said :

من عرف نفسه فقد عرف ربه

(One who cognised himself, cognised his God).

The knowledge of the self is the knowledge of God for it is evident that if man cognises himself he cognizes God of which he is the manifestation.[5]

Ibne Arabi comes to a yet important question as to what was the teleos of creation. It is concealed in the inner urge of God of being known.

كنت كنزاً مخفياً فاحببت ان أعرف فخلقت الخلق

(I was a hidden treasure. I wished that I should be known, so created the creatures).

It explicitly explains that the secret of creation is covered in the urge to be known. God created the world by realising the infinite potential qualities in Him.[6]

Having given the gist of Ibne Arabi's thought, we come to Mujaddid Alf Thani and his criticism on Ibne Arabi's philosophy. Before we begin, it we should comprehend the evolution of Mujaddids thought. In the evolution of his thought he passes through three subsequent stages namely (1) Wujudiyat or unity of existence (2) Zilliyat or adumberation and (3) Abdiyat or servitude. Mujaddid Alf Thani begins his Philosophy from 'wujudiyat'. In the first stage he was a 'wujudi' by his sufi experience but he soon realised the invalidities of wujudiyat and passed on to the other stage 'Zilliyat' or adumberation. He was

not satisfied with this stage as well and finally came to the stage of 'abadiyat' or servitude. Here he was confirmed that the relation of the world and God is not of unity and also realised that the world is not adumberation of the actual or 'asl', i.e. Allah. He held that the world and God are different from one another : one is the created and other is the creator. Having being convinced of the duality of the world and God he held his previous mystic experience as lower stages. He came to conclude that the direct knowledge of God or His attributes is impossible for He is beyond the beyond :

الله وراء الوراء ثم وراء الوراء

(Allah is beyond the beyond, and again beyond the beyond.)[7]

We have given the evolution of Mujaddids' thought. We now come to his criticism on Ibne Arabi. He begins it by scrutinising the two premises i.e. 1. the 'Sifat' or attributes are identical with the 'dhat' or being and 2. The world is the manifestation or 'Tajalli' of His attributes. As regards the first, the Mujaddid holds that the 'sifat' or attributes are not identical with the 'dhat' or being. But they are over and above the 'dhat' or being. The truth of it is realisable by 'Kashfi Sahih' or veridical intuition. The sufi experience and the right reason both

justify that the essence of God must be above His attributes. The Quran also supports it :

ان الله لغني عن العالمين

(Verily God is purely independent of the Universe).

As God is perfect in Himself, the attributes must be other than His essence. The Mujaddid does not believe in Ibne Arabi's theory of manifestation. He considers the world to be a creation for many reasons. He is of the view that the world is not the manifestation of His attributes because His attributes are perfect and the world is imperfect. For example the human knowledge has no resemblance with the God's knowledge. He argues that the Kashfi Sahih or veridical intuition also demands to believe that the world cannot be one with God. In support of his point of view he refers to Revelation :

سبحان ربك رب العزت عما يصفون

(Thy Lord is nobler than the qualities which they ascribe to Him).

Thus the world as he thinks, is not the manifestation of His attributes.[8]

Ibne Arabi considers that the world of objects has not its own existence and holds that God is the only existent being. The Mujaddid is of the view that Ibne Arabi was at the stage of Fana' or annihilation and could not enter

the higher stages in which a sufi realises the difference between the world and God and also comprehends its objective existence. As a matter of fact, as Mujaddid points out, he could not realise even the stage of 'Fana' or annihilation because he even in it remembered the world and called it as one with God. At the stage of 'Fana' or annihilation sufi does not see any other existence except that of God. Ibne Arabi though did not perceive any other existence, yet he was not forgetful of the world. The Mujaddid criticises him for yet anothe reason. Creation, (Ibda) as he puts forward, is an attribute of God. In calling it a manifestation of God the creation is denied which is against the 'Kashfi Sahih' or veridical intuition and revelation (wahi). The revelation teaches us that God is wholly other than the world and that the world has an objective existence. He contends that had it not been so the commissions and omissions i.e. 'awamir-wa-nawahi', would have become meaningless. There could be no question of reward and punishment. For if the world is the manifestation of God, whatever is being done is being done by God Himself, for it is He existing in different modes and doing different acts. No action in such a case could either be rewardable or punishable. Ibne-Arabi's view is criticised for it will

make the concept of Hereafter as baseless. The Mujaddid calls Ibne Arabi's denial of the world as independent existence to be a scepticism. He argues that 'Wauhum' may mean many things. It, for example, means something of imagination. By calling the world 'mauhum' in respect of this meaning, it means that it should disappear as soon as the imagination disappears. It is reduced to the world of ideas only. To him it is a scepticism. 'Mauhum' may also mean that the world does have an objective existence but its existence is insignificant as compared to the existence of God. He is the necessary being while the world is contingent and the necessary and contingent cannot be identical with each other.[9]

Ibne Arabi's proposition that the world is one with God is further criticised by the Mujaddid on the basis of his contention that he was speaking of it at the stage of 'tajalli-e-dhati' or the manifestation of the essence of God. At this stage a sufi feels that he is directly apprehending God. But it could have lead him to the denial of the world and not to finding the oneness of existence between the world and God because, as the Mujaddid points out, at this stage a sufi is completely occupied with God and sees nothing other than He. But Ibne Arabi remembered the world. It

goes to prove that he could not fully realise the stage of 'tajalli-e-dhati'. Furthermore, the Mujaddid adds that there are higher stages of sufi experience than the 'tajalli-e-dhati'. Had Ibne Arabi risen to a higher stage, he would have realised the difference between the world and God and would not have spoken of its oneness with God. He also points out that if Ibne Arabi's sufism would not be interpreted otherwise, it is against revelation and according to the revelation it is a heresy of the worst kind.[10]

The Mujaddid also criticises Ibne Arabi's doctrine of Farq bad-al-jam or difference after union. According to Ibne Arabi "Aayani Kharija" or the existent essences do not have even the slightest existence, God alone is the only existence. The Mujaddid asks as to how it is possible that the affirmation of God, as a transcendent being can change His infinitude into finitude ? How the world being imaginary can limit the existential reality ? Secondly, the Mujaddid holds that if immanence is joined with transcendence there would be nothing other than He. It is therefore that Ibne Arabi maintains that of an object is the worship of God for He is manifested in it but it is against the teachings of the Quran. The Mujaddid in support of his

arguments quotes :

قل يا اهل الكتاب تعالوا الى كلمة سواء بيننا وبينكم الا نعبد
الا الله ولا نشرك به شيئا ولا يتخذ بعضنا بعضا اربابا من
دون الله فان تولوا فقولوا اشهدوا بانا مسلمون ه

("O followers of the Book ! Come to an equitable proposition between us and you that we shall not worship any but Allah and (that) we shall not associate aught with Him, and (that) some of us shall not take others for lords besides Allah ! but if they turn back, then say : "Bear witness that we are Muslims".)

The verse clearly denies the worship of an object other than Allah. It also gives a clue to the existence other than Allah. It means that the existence of the world cannot be denied or be called one with God. The Mujaddid also criticises Ibne Arabi for combining immanence with transcendence. He is of the view that God is beyond the reach of our reason and all 'Kashf-o-Shuhud' or intuition and experience and perception. Besides, he holds that Ibne Arabi did not reach even the stage of Farq bad-al-jam for in it a sufi is able to see the difference between the world and God but Ibne Arabi took them as one with each other.[11]

Having criticised Ibne Arabi's doctrine of Farq bad-al-jam the Mujaddid takes up another point of criticism in Ibne Arabi's philosophy. Ibne Arabi considers the world to be the Zill or adumberation of the 'asl' or the being and holds that they are one with each other. Imam Rabbani repudiates his contention basing on the fact that Zill or

adumberation cannot be one with 'asl' or being as the Zill being shadow is the copy of the asl and the copy of a thing cannot be one with the thing itself. On the first place he rejects that the world is the adumberation and if at all it is taken to be, it cannot be proved to one with the asl or being as God, is the necessary being and the world is contingent being. The Imam also rejects Ibne Arabi's proposition that God manifests Himself in man. He holds that Sheikh-e-Akbar has wrongly interpreted the verse :

نحن اقرب اليه من حبل الوريد

(We are nearer unto him than his own life artery).

It does not mean that God is in the parts and limbs of man. Of course, there is no doubt that He is nearer than our life artery but we are not aware of the nature of His proximity. The Mujaddid points out that the verse :

خلق الآدم على صورته

(God created man after His own image).

has wrongly been explained. It only means that the human soul and God both are non-spatial. Besides, Ibne Arabi has also been criticised by him for his unconvincing interpretation of the verse :

من عرف نفسه فقد عرف ربه

(One who comes to cognise his self comes to cognise God).

To him it only means that the knowledge of the self reveals the imperfections and defects in the self or in man and the man is able to understand that perfection and values are possible only through God. By rejecting interpretion of these verses the Mujaddid seeks to prove that man and God are different from each other.[12]

Discussing the purpose of Creation Ibne Arabi points out that God created the world for His self manifestation. In the description of his five stages of cognitition Ibne Arabi seems to imply that God was not perfect in the beginning and created the world for his self-perfection. It is against the religion and the Revelation as the Mujaddid points out and he is true to hold it as the Quran clearly asserts :

ان الله لغنيٌ عن العالمين ـ

(Verily Allah is sufficient unto Himself and needs no worlds). It stands as a substantive proof that God did not create the world for His perfection. Mujaddid also holds that the knowledge was not the purpose of creation. To Him it was 'Ibadat' or service. In support of his view he quotes :

ما خلقتُ الجنّ والانس الاّ ليعبدون ـ

(I have not created man and Jinn but exclusively for Ibadat). Ibadat, as he points out, may be taken to mean 'Marifat' or knowledge of God and the knowledge of God, however,

consists in the perfection of man and not in the perfection of God, Who is perfect by Himself.[13]

After these criticisms the Mujaddid, finally rejects wahadat-i-wujud. He holds that wujud and being, as Ibne Arabi conceived, are not identical but apparently identical. To advocate his contention he traces the origin of the sufi experience in which a sufi sees the existence or being as identical. He is of the view that there are two levels namely the cognitive level and the emotional level or the level of feeling. Some sufis have the experience of unityism on the cognitive level. The eagerness and the crave for the knowledge of God lead them to thinking and meditation. The contemplation and the meditation take them to the conclusion that the only existent being is God and hence the oneness of the wujud and being is confirmed. Some sufis have the experience of unityism on the emotional level. They love the Almighty and the intensity of their love makes them look Him in every particle. To them he is reflected in the world. The love of God thus becomes conducive to them to have this experience of unityism. In the love of the Deity they are unable to think of themselves. Their ideal is annihilation. They have no rest, for if they need to draw themselves to the state of forgetfulness and Oblivion, it is impossible for

them due to the intense love of God. Yet it is necessary and along with the others wahadat-e-wujud is one way to achieve it.[14]

We have given Mujaddid's criticism on Ibne Arabi's philosophy. Ibne Arabi for a long time has dominated the thought and influenced many sufis of importance. To say it in other words, wahadatul wujud was the philosophy of the day and many sufis did not only adopt it as their belief but contributed a great deal to its development. Jami, a Persian sufi, for example, was one who interpreted and explained the doctrine of wahadatul wujud. To put it in brief, the sufis accepted wahadatul wujud with all its implications. But long after Ibne Arabi, Mujaddid Alf Thani made an attempt to pursue wahadatul wujud. It is true that like Ibne Arabi, Mujaddid's criticism also consists in the arguments based on intuition and experience. It, however, does not mean that the arguments are not rational but many of them are derived from the sufi experience and intuition and revelation. It was, indeed, a great contribution of Imam Rabbani to make a perusive and critical study of wahadatul wujud and having rejected it he came to propound his own philosophy generally known as wahadatul-Shuhud. It should be born in mind that he was not the first to propound it, yet it is true that

he presented it as a compact and consistent philosophy. Having given his criticism on Ibne Arabi we shall now discuss Mujaddid's philosophy of wahdatul Shuhud.

God is, as the Mujaddid presents, beyond all His names. Putting it so he means to describe His transcendence. The knowledge of the divine being is possible only with the help of Revelation. Even after being beyond of them He is seen in His attributes. He is Khaliq or Creator of all things and human beings. He created them out of 'adam-i-mahad'(or pure nothing). He possesses all the attributes like 'Sattar' or conniver, 'Halim' or forbearing, 'Irada' or will, 'Sam-o-Basar' or Hearing and seeing, 'Kalam' or speech and 'Takwin' or creation. He is 'Hadi' or Guide Who enlightens the humanity through his apostles or prophets. He deserves all praise. In fact, as he points out, man is incapable of knowing His value. He is all pervasive and omnipresent. It is, therefore, we say that He is nearer to us than our own life artery but the nature of His nearness or Qurb is beyond our comprehension. Man is unable even to comprehend His attributes.[15]

The Mujaddid speaks of two kinds of attributes of God namely (1) negative attributes and (2) positive attributes. Each of them are again of two kinds. The two kinds of the

negative attributes are :

a) denying the imperfection in God's being like that He has no equal or rival, nor parents and children.

b) indicating His beyondness like that He is not body or physical, is neither substance nor attribute or words, is not space or spatial, is not limited or finite, has neither dimensions nor relations, i.e. He is above the application of our categories of thought.[16]

The two kinds of positive attributes are :

a) relative attributes and b) essential attributes. The relative attributes are those which are relatively true of Him like 'Qidam' or self-subsistence, Azaliyat or Eternity, 'wujub' or Necessity and 'uluhiyyat' or worshipability. We ascribe these attributes to Him as the opposite of them denote imperfections and they describe His perfection. As the human mind conceives three categories of being, namely necessity, possibility and impossibility, we ascribe necessity to Him also, as Mujaddid holds, it has nothing to do with His essence. The essential attributes are those which adequately describe His essence. They are absolutely true of Him. They are like 'Hayat' or life, 'Ilm' or knowledge, 'Qudrat' or Power, 'Irada' or will, 'Sama' or Hearing, 'Basr' or seeing, 'Kalam' or speech, and 'Takwin' or creation.[17]

Having described the kinds of attributes he then speaks of the relation between 'dhat' and 'sifat' i.e. being and attributes on one hand and between God and the world on the other. In his criticism on Ibne Arabi's theory of Identity between the attributes and the essence we have given his opinion regarding it. In order to make it more explicit we add that he considers God as being perfect and needs no attributes to contribute to His perfection. It is then evident that he considers the attributes to be other than His essence. Thus it is more than evident that He is perfect by Himself and His essence is other than His attributes.[18]

Regarding the relation between the essence and the attributes and the world he is of the view that attributes are the determinations or decents of His essence. In fact, he hesitates to use the word 'Tanazzul' or tayyun for Him, they imply identity which he takes up to deny. However, he is of the view that the attributes are the descents of His essence and the world is the effect or zill of His attributes. In order to explain it he gives an order of descents as 'wujud' or existence, 'Sifate Hayat' or the quality of life, 'Sifat-i-ilm' or quality of knowledge, 'Sifat-i-Qudrat' or the quality of will, 'Sifat-e-Sam' or the quality of hearing, 'Sifat-e-Basr' or the quality of

seeing, 'Sifat-e-Kalam' or the quality of speech,'Sifat-e-Takwin' or the quality of creation. The Perfect being is the cause of existence or the quality of 'wujud' and the creation of the world is possiblethrough His attribute of 'Takwin' or creation. He advocates that the attributes are the Zill or the effect of His being and the world is the effect of His attributes. He denies Ibne Arabi's contention that the world is the 'Tajalli' or the modes of His attributes.[19]

Having spoken about the relationship, he gives the theory of creation as propounded by him. He holds that God is 'Kamil' or Perfect or 'wujud-e-kamil' or Perfect Being. Having in Him all the 'Sifat-e-kamila' or the attributes of perfection, He is sufficient unto Himself needing nothing beside Himself. He created the world out of 'adam-e-mahad' or pure nothingness. He decided to create the world and in view of His own decision He first created the 'Sifat-e-wujud' or the quality of existence in His being and thereafter other qualities which are forms of this 'sifate wujud'. In the case of each quality He conceives its opposite in the form of 'adam' or nothigness. The 'adam' of One is different from 'the adam' of the other e.g. the 'adam' of life is death, the 'adam' of knowledge is ignorance and the 'adam' of power is powerlessness. Similarly the opposite of each quality is

conceived. God casts the reflection of His existence into its opposed nothingness and creates the finite existence. In the same way He creates other finite beings by casting the reflection of His qualities into their opposed nothingness or 'adam-e-mutaqabila'. Thus the finite beings are created essentially out of pure nothingness. They are the Zill or the effect of His attributes, yet are not identical with them.[20]

The real and the actual being is one and He is God. The world, as the Mujaddid holds, is appearance and that too not of a genuine reality. In explaining the reality of the world he gives two examples, the first one is of a fire circle made by a burning stick. If the circle is made to exist by giving it a perpetuated appearance it will keep on existing with no reality in it. The second one is of a juggler who created a garden bearing fruits and the king ordered for his execution so that the garden may exist for ever. Since then it exists, yet it is a garden of magic. The reality of the world is of this sort. It exists, but its existence depends upon God.

The Mujaddid strongly holds that there is no relation between the world and its creator except that He has created and it has been created. All such conceptions like 'ihata'

(comprehension), 'ittihad' (identity),'maiyat' (co-existence), are the beliefs of a sufi at the stage of 'sukr' (the ecstatic condition). All the sufis have such experience in their mystic journey but many of them reject it when they come to a higher stage of 'Sahw' (sobriety). Considering the world to be one with God is like taking the alphabets and their inventor to be one with each other.* We are aware that any such belief is beyond the facts.[21]

As regards to man the Mujaddid holds that he, in him, has a unique entity known as the soul. It does not belong to 'alam-e-khalq' (world of creation) but to 'alam-e-amar' (world of command), and hence it is non-spatial. He speaks of three stages of the soul. The soul is originally inclined to seek the Divine Approval but it is intertwined with the 'alam-e-khalq' (the world of creation) and has been given the body. Its entanglement with the material world arouses in it the tendencies of disobedience and sin. This is the fountain-

---

* The Mujaddid to explain it gives an example of a person who has invented certain alphabets. If a person comes and tells both of them to be one with another, he will be wrong. Similarly God being creator of the world cannot be one with it.

head of evil. The soul at this stage is called 'nafs-e-ammara' (the evil-self). Despite the disobedience and sin it preserves the capacity of obedience and good. It can be realised t hrough its purification. The purification gradually brings the soul to the stage of repentance on which it repents for its inclination towards vice. The soul at this stage is called 'nafs-e-lawwama' (the Reproaching-self). Having achieved it the soul progresses to attain yet a higher stage known as 'nafs-e-mutmainna' (the beautified-self). At this stage it is pleased to act in accordance with the commandments of commission and omission. This is the highest stage of man's perfection. The stage of the beautified-self is known as the stage of 'abadiyyat' or servitude. Having attained it man is freed from all bondages of 'ma-siwa-ilah' (things other than Allah). Its attainment is possible with the help of love of God which is a means not an end.

Describing the relation of man with God the Mujaddid holds that the relation between the two is of 'abd' and 'mabud' (of worshipper and worshipped). Man's perfection lies in the fact that he should design his life in accordance with the will of God and obey the commands of commission and omission. Another relation between man and God is concealed in 'marifat' (Gnosis). 'Marifat', as the Mujaddid points

out, only means that man should realise that he cannot know the essence of God. To support his claims he quotes an assertion of Abu Bakr-as-Siddiq :

العجز عن درك الادراك ادراك - فسبحان من لم يجعل
للخلق اليه سبيلاً الا بالعجز عن معرفته -

(To realise one's inability to comprehend Him is the ture comprehension; Holy is He Who has not kept any road to Himself open to His creatures except by way of realising their incapacity to know Him).

Thus the Mujaddid considers God to be unapproachable and unknowable. We must be contented to know of Him whatever the Revelation tells.[22]

We have studied wahatul wujud, specially as propounded by Ibne Arabi. We have also pursued wahadatul shuhud as presented by Mujaddid Alf Thani. We shall now come to Shah Waliullah who acted as an arbitrator in the controversy of Wahdatul wujud and Wahadatul Shuhud.

## SECTION - III

We have dealt with Wahdatul Wujud as expounded by Mohiuddin Ibnul Arabi and Wahdatul Shuhud as professed and propogated by Sheikh Ahmad Sarhindi. Having explained their views we are now in a position to study Shah Waliullah's doctrine of 'Tatbiq', but before we discuss it, it is apt on our part to probe into the meaning of Tatbiq.

The word 'Tatbiq' comes from 'Tabaqa' which means to bring together. 'Tatbiq', then, retaining the originality of the meaning denoted by its root word literally means the same. Clearing it we add, to bring together is the literal meaning of the word 'Tatbiq'. But the word has become a term which has repeatedly been used by the scholars of theology and also of philosophy. And for many it has acquired different meanings. We are mainly concerned with Shah Waliullah but shall, however, mention some of the scholars who have given it a connotation of their own.[1]

Probing into the meaning of a word we are customarily led for enquiry to lexicon and Encyclopaedia. In ivew of it we allude to 'Qamuse Islam' and 'Lisanal Arab' which define the word 'Tatbiq' as follows :

a) In Islamic prayer, it means the congruent position of some parts (e.g. hands) in relation to some other parts (e.g. the thigh). In this sense Book XII of 'Sunan al Nasai' is called 'Kitab-al-Tatbiq'.

'Lisan-al-Arab' gives a peculiar meaning of the word. It defines it as the comprehension of a question. Defining the word it cites the discourse of Ibn Abbas with Abu Hurayra. The former asks the latter of the possibilities of remarriage of a divorced woman with the previous husband. Replying to him Abu Hurayra affirms that she cannot remarry the previous man unless she is taken in Nikah by a person other than him. Hearing the answer Ibn Abbas says that Abu Hurayra has made a Tatbiq by which Ibne Abbas means the comprehension of the question. The word has not been taken to mean comprehension of a question in philosophy. We, therefore, put Lisanal Arab aside from the point of view of philosophy. What is revealed in the discourse of Ibne Abbas and Abu Hurayra, is the interpretation of Tatbiq having its prototype in the classical interpretation of the term which, in accordance with it, is applied to mean something novel, intense, vigorous, invincible and penetrating - and not to mean to harmonise two discordant things. The inclusion of vigorousness in its connotation, invincibility and

penetration gives a clue of the presence of a force in it. And, as a matter of fact, it did include in its connotation the force which could impose itself upon two things resulting into the destruction of the latter which to us is suggestive of nothing but outright rejection of the latter. (Refer for this interpretation to n. 3 'Types of Islamic Thought' ; Kamali S. A., p. 112).[2]

But Shah Waliullah comprehends the term to mean something other than expressed in the classical interpretation. To begin with his interpretation we should refer to one of his well known books 'Izalat al Khifa' wherein he ascertains whatever has been given in it is from Kitab and Sunnah and has been supported by the authority of the great leaders of the Muslim community. The arrangement of the material has been made by him (Shah Waliullah) in the form of deductions.* It is suggestive, then, of the important fact that Shah Waliullah does not challenge the authority by applying a force to shatter or ruin one or the other in the name of 'Tatbiq'. Contrary to this, he interprets the term 'Tatbiq' as an active process which admits the possibility of co-

* Arrangement in the form of deduction means from Particulars to Universals.

existence of two independent things different in nature but equal in status and authenticity. Let us think what, then, could be 'tatbiq' if two independent things different in nature are held capable of existence. The answer to our pondering is one word 'reconciliation' or synthesis made in the form of deduction meaning thereby keeping them on their proper place in history. Before coming to this let us make it explicit, and to do so we fall back on 'Tafhimat' in which, writing on Tatbiq, Shah Waliullah holds that in every age man has received or possessed a science out of the benefits of God. In the early phase of history there was only one science by which the Muslim community was blessed but writing about his age he says that man has now known all the sciences, national, traditional and esoteric and can profoundly penetrate into the diversity to do away with the discrepancy. By pointing out the phases of history he means that the span of knowledge increases with the pace of history. It goes to suggest that he is of the view that the thought of a particular age should be interpreted and comprehended by keeping the time in view to which it belongs. Such a consideration would enable us to make a perusive study of the development of knowledge in that period. By doing so we shall be in a position to assign it a proper place in

history. In continuation with the same, Shah Waliullah points out that Truth or veracity is a vast ocean and the comprehension of the whole is impossible and a comprehension is rendered to be impossible. The seekers of the Truth are like the tiny birds who drink from the ocean of Truth in accordance with their capacity and desire. But only drops of it do quench their thirst.* [3]

Shah Waliullah prefers this simile for the communication of his thought in full. He points out after referring to the episode in the simile that the seeker mistakenly considers himself to have assimilated the truth as a whole. What he actually wants to suggest is that there is an element of truth in the thought and it is we to analyse it and understand it. Herein he wants that neither the seeker nor others should take it as a whole. He also points out that some people are bewildered by the diversity and their bewilderment

---

*The simile has been taken from Sahih Bukhari, (III, 44). It points out towards the episode of the meeting of the prophet Moses with Khizr in which Moses makes many enquiries regarding the secrets. At one place Moses sees a bird sitting on the bank of the sea and drinking water from it by taking only a drop of it in its beak. Khizr then explains the nature of Truth comparing it with an ocean and the seekers with the tiny bird. The knowledge about the truth gained by the seekers is compared with the drop from the ocean in its beak. It is analogous to say that taking drops from the ocean means almost nothing. Thus the knowledge of the truth gained by the seekers is very little amounting to nought.

refrains them from soaring high to a destination where multiplicity and diversity are resolved. Shah Waliullah points out that some people do rightly interpret their intuition but wrongly understand the introspective speculations of their predecessors. It categorically suggests that by Tatbiq he never means rejection. But, contrary to this, adopting it as a method, he affirms the place of thought in history. Taking upon a thought he is categorically confident of the element of truth in it but desires and wishes to inform the people of its validity. Thus Tatbiq for him means to find out the element of truth in a thought. Besides, he also takes upon himself to make corrections. It should be borne in mind that making correction is not rejection.[4]

From the preceding lines it is evident that Shah Waliullah does not use the term Tatbiq with its classical interpretation. He gives it a meaning which must be taken as a contribution.

Coming to the deductive arrangement of which we have made a mention Shah Waliullah means by it assigning a proper place to the thoughts of the ancestors in historical perspective and the same is meant by him by reconciliation. As the word suggests, he does not take it to mean to find

out an affinity in contradictory terms. He only means by it to keep things in accordance with the phases of historical development. Such an arrangement will definitely resolve the differences because by it we shall know the place of a thought in the history of the development of Islamic sciences, and to understand it we shall take into account the development of our own time. Shah Waliullah holds that by Tatbiq such type of reconcilation as mentioned above can be thought about by keeping the elements of the indivisible and integral whole in the phases of history to which they belong.[5]

Shah Waliullah is aware of the difference between his works and those of his predecessors but is of the view that his propositions and beliefs are deduced from his predecessors. But the basic reason of the difference between him and his predecessors is the development of Islamic thought. In his opinion the development of rational trend in Islamic thought belongs to his age and before that it was considered as an stigma. In his own time it is taken as an act of devotion. Thus due to this development a difference between him and his predecessors exists. And, therefore, as we shall see later on, he rejects neither of the two - Wahdatul wujud and Wahdatul Shuhud - but only places them in the

history of the development of Islamic thought in the age to which each of them belongs and also points out the stage of the development of Islamic thought reached in the respective ages.[6]

Differentiating Tatbiq from sound vision let us consider an analogy offered by Shah Waliullah in Tafhimat. Some blindmen saw a particular tree. Each one of them touched a particular part of it and was determined in his mind that the tree was like the part he touched but then approached to a man of sound vision and told them the whole truth about the form of the tree and also informed them what each of them had touched was one of its parts and not the whole. They were true in so far as the part was concerned but mistaken in so far as the whole was concerned. It was an example to substantiate that many of the people fallaciously regard the part to be the whole and the man with sound vision corrects them. This stands as a line of demarcation between the sound vision and Tatbiq. A man with sound vision can correct, as explained in the case of the blind, the bewildered seekers of truth. The correction can be made in both the partial perception and the idea based on this experience. The partial perception does not reveal the truth as a whole and the idea based on an experience may be determined by

some prior condition. Thus the revelation of truth is often incomplete in the idea based on an experience as well, and so both of them are open to correction. A man with sound vision is able to correct them for he has had a complete perception and his idea of it is not determined by any prior condition. A synthesiser can only depend on his idea and in ascertaining the truth of a thing he must know the criterion of an observer with which he has deduced it. Thus the difference in both of them is concealed in perception. The former has made it and the latter has not and cannot as Shah puts it. The difference is suggestive of the fact that (1) the synthesiser should have complete knowledge of Islamic history and (2) is aware of the universal laws in operation of the universe to analyse his material. He should also know that the material is a source of instruction to help his synthesis.[7]

Shah Waliullah proceeds in his synthesis by making a primary postulate that Islamic history is a unity and with the help of this postulate he boldly affirms that many things otherwise considered as un-Islamic are categorically Islamic for they are the part of the whole. With the result of his assertion the previous experiences that consternated the intellectuals in the past were readmitted.

Considering the Islamic history as a unity all the controversies in the Islamic history become its part and if the situation created by them is accepted as Islamic, the charges of Innovation, heresy, and ignorance levied on the persons cannot be taken on their face value. The imposition of the charges would, then, mean to devoid the persons of their Islamic status and if the charges levied against them are taken to be invalid, it would mean their vindication. Any such vindication would result into a negative attitude and cannot be held for long unless changed into a positive one. To put it in other words, one who finds the heretics, innovators and ignorants as full of faults, must also learn to admire them. In the rejection of the cases against them Shah Waliullah makes a distinction between the form and the spirit. Rejecting the form constituted of reproachful words and wrong version, he takes up the spirit which underlies the arguments and the method they adopted. Shah Waliullah did it out of his respect to the scholars of Islamic thought.[8]

In his Tatbiq Shah Waliullah comes to a generalization based on induction that the methodology of the intellectuals of the past is perfect. It has helped the scholars in the dissemination of knowledge. Its impressiveness is the proof

of its perfection and it was the reason that even the banalities and animosities could so impressively be written. Recognising this fact Shah Waliullah comes to the difference between the age he lived in and the period of Islamic history. He acknowledges the difference between the two ages for two reasons. The first is the imperfection of the methodology adopted by his contemporaries in writing their banalities and animosities against others. And the second, as he thinks, is the stagnancy of knowledge. What was considered in his time as knowledge was nothing but the assimilation of the knowledge given by the scholars in the past.[9]

The permeation of the controversies in the Islamic history Shah Waliullah considers to be a work of genius and exalts the scholars who propounded and upheld them and also those who sought a case against them. Having realised it he comes to the midiocrities of his own time. Let us remember that he denies the creativity in that age by calling the contemporary knowledge as reproduction or record of the previous one. In confirmity with this he calls them as mediocrities as they lack originality. In order to make it clear it will suffice to say, at present, that in the age Shah Waliullah lived in, was the age of

decline of Muslims in India. The Muslim society was proceeding towards degeneration and the Shah was fully aware of these facts. Being conscious of his age he depicts it as one lacking originality and creativity. He, however, comes to the conclusion that mediocrities of his own time are not bad if the contentions professed are thoroughly and satisfactorily analysed. It is a substansive proof of his genius. Development of knowledge is possible only with the help of controversies.[10]

Tatbiq is a method for Shah Waliullah adopted in the reconstruction of the thought process in Islam. He adopted this method for it facilitated him in bringing out a synthesis in the existing controversies, and it was indispensdble and the demand of his time for the Muslims in those days were badly occupied in these controversies and like the blind were clinging to what they had explored in one or the other without having an idea of the spirit underlying the arguments. Shah Waliullah's interpretation of history is unique, thought provoking and evocative. The student of historiosophy must take a note of it.[11]

We have dealth with Tatbiq as his methodology. He has applied it in the realm of fiqah, tradition and mystic trends. We shall take up to persue its application on mystic trends.

Before we take up the efforts of Shah Waliullah regarding the synthesis between the existing mystic trends, it is rather necessary that we should deal with the mystic thought of the time. Let us recall that the age of Shah Waliullah, as the history records, is the age of decline of the Moghal empire. Adding to this, let us say that it was not only the matter of down fall of a particular empire but it was an age of all round degeneration, deterioration and decay in the field of morality, spirituality and culture. Let us at present limit ourselves to only the spiritual deterioration. We shall describe it in brief as the details do not favour the occasion.

Let us remind ourselves of the efforts of Aurangzib regarding the revival of the religion. It is true that he was only a king and could not do much in this connection. But even then he was successful to a great extent in overcoming the degeneration and deterioration of Islam among Indian Muslims which for the welfare of Mughal empire was begotten by Akbar the Great. Aurangzeb, however, tried his best to eradicate the evils in the realm of religion. But being a king he had to attend to many things other than religion and annexation was one of them. Engaged in it he got little time to take up the religious reforms but what-

soever had been done by him was undone by his successors. The time of Mohammad Shah Rangila proved fatal in the history of Moghul empire. It brought destruction in all spheres and walks of life. The king himself did not pay attention to anything other than debauchery, luxury, licentiousness. Consequently there followed the down fall of old values and traditions. One thing more should be mentioned here that before Aurangzeb, Dara Shikoh stood up as a champion of Hindu philosophy, tradition and culture. Contrary to this, paradoxically enough, he also had a great impact of sufism. It is obvious that he did try to amulgamate one with another. Thereafter, many of the sufis followed him. It proved to be worst as the sufis were the source of inspiration for the Muslim masses. It becomes acute at the time of Mohammad Shah II.[12]

The age of Shah Waliullah exhibitted many such evils as mentioned above. The Muslim masses in general in India considered certain customs and traditions as religious. The sufis and saints in the garb of 'tariqat' were becoming more and more away from Islam. Much emphasis was given and money spent on 'Sama', a programme of music in which qawwali, a devotional song with specific tone of music, is often sung in high pitch with a purpose to heal the diseased soul.

The sufis of the time gathered to hear it with devotion and sincerity to clestial body. To put it in brief, the sufis, who had once served the cause of Islam by spreading it in India were now polluting the religious atmosphere of the country. Inspite of the deterioration, degeneration and decay Shah Waliullah kept himself occupied with the requisition of knowledge and as an honest teacher, a true devotee of knowledge and sincere to mankind imparted it to his pupils in the school which had been founded by his able and erudite father. But being a sensitive man and a lover of human beings he could not bear up the agony of his people for long and describing his own times writes in Hujjat-ullah il Baligha :

وغالب سبب خراب البلدان في هذا الزمان شيئان - احدهما تضييقهم
على بيت المال ليعتادوا بالتكسب بالاخذ منه على انهم من الغزاة ومن العلماء
الذين لهم حق فيه - او من الذين جرت عادت الملوك بصلتهم كالزهاد والشعراء
او بوجه من وجوه التكدي ويكون العمدة عندهم هو التكسب دون القيام بالمصالح
فيدخل قوم على قوم فينغصون عليهم ويصيرون كلاً على المدينة -
والثاني ضرب الضرائب الثقيلة على الزراع والتجار والمحترفة والتشديد
عليهم حتى يفضي اجحاف المطاوعين واستئصالهم والى تمنع اولي
باس شديد وبغيهم وانما تصلح المدينة بالجباية اليسيرة واقامة
الحفظة بقدر الضرورة فلينتبه اهل الزمان لهذه النكتة
(باب سياسة المدينة)

"There are two reasons for the destruction and decline of the country namely (1) the empty treasury which has been emptied on account of the claim of some people, being a soldier or a scholar, to have a share in it, others of them are the sufis and poets whome the King adores with rewards and gifts. There is yet another group of people who get their livelihood from the court without doing any work. These people limit the means of others, reduce the income and, indeed, are a burden on the national exechequer.
(2) The other one is the heavy taxation on the cultivators. It has gone to the extent that the honest tax payers are pressurised to pay enough to carry the administration of the kingdom and those who do not pay even the regular taxes are not penalised for their misdeed. The government must understand the secret of administration and rehabilitation which lies in proper taxation, required number of employees and essential army".[13]

The words of Shah Waliullah clearly explain the wretched condition of his time. An honest intellectual and a true follower of Islam could not have borne it without any anguish and the Shah was undoubtedly agonised by the prevailing situation and circumstances of his time. He was influenced with it to the extent that he thought of re-

awakening of his people. In addition to this, the sufis of the time were very much occupied with the controversy of Wahdatul Wujud and Wahdatul Shuhud. The division was quite sagacious. There was little rationale in the support or opposition of a particular sufi trend. It was in fact the faith in the particular sufi traditions that directed their course of life. As the sufis influenced the society, the people were also engaged in the controversy without knowing anything of it. Shah Waliullah, on the contrary, was a great scholar of his time. He did not embrace any philosophy just because of the faith but held it as belief on the basis of reason. He had regards for all the Muslim thinkers and saw them in the phenomenon of time. According to it he erected the edifice of his own philosophy by arranging the particulars in order to make them able to emerge as universal. He could achieve it, as we have mentioned, by his methodology 'Tatbiq'.[14]

In reply to his letter Shah Waliullah wrote to Afandi Ismail Bin Abdullah Romi regarding Wahdatul Wujud and Wahdatul Shuhud. The seeker wanted to know his opinion regarding these schools of sufism. Addressing him Shah Waliullah begins that the people of every age and time have a particular status of knowledge and that status is reached

by them by the help of God. When there was no science, the 'Shara' was not properly ordered, even at that time the people had not the knowledge of the problems regarding Shara. The modern age (his age) demands that we should understand with clarity of thought and unprejudiced mind the works of our ancestors. They may belong to any category of knowledge, for instance, 'maqulat, manqulat and mukashfat' (Logic, tradition and intuition). We must study them from the point of view of not only comprehension but resolving the existing controversies, and this could be possible when they would be studied with a purpose to bring out a synthesis in them so that the opaque clouds of differences must yield to the light of clarity.[15]

Discussing Wahdatul Wujud and Wahdatus Shahud, Shah Waliullah first of all comes to the etymology of the terms 'wujud' and 'Shuhud'. Touching upon it he points out that a person wishing to understand these trends must in the first place be clear that both of them are words having different meanings. No doubt that he is not hitting upon any linguistic trend in the modern philosophy, yet it is also obvious that his approach is definitely analytical. Any concept used as term must have a meaning and background and those wishing to understand it must be aware of it.

The Shah also advises here to take up this very approach by calling wujud and shuhud in the first place as words. He first takes up wujud to explain the unity of existence and points out that it is a stage where, when a traveller reaches, is lost in the unity. The Salik at this stage, as Shah Waliullah thinks, is completely occupied with almighty God. His meditation and intuition do not let him think of anything other than God. The devine light bewillers him and he loses his reason. But then God, as He is merciful, takes him out of the mist and he goes forward from the stage of the oneness between world and God to the stage of difference between the two. The former is the stage of 'wahdatul wujud' and the latter 'Wahdatul Shuhud'.[16]

Explaining Shuhud, Shah Waliullah holds that it is a stage at which a traveller (Salik) realises that the unity as visualised on the former stage has its own causes and the diversity its own. In other words it may be described as : that there are certain causes to see oneness between God and world and there are also causes to see them different from each other, meaning thereby that Shuhud is a stage where the reasons for oneness and difference are well conceived by the traveller. Having explained them Shah Waliullah explicitly points out that the former, the

stage of Wahdatul wujud, is lower than the latter, the stage of Wahdatul Shuhud. Sometimes, these terms are used in the context of the objects. There is a controversy in the relationship between the contingent and eternal being (hadis wa qadim). Regarding this there are two points of view in particular (i) This world of multiplicity has only one source of existence. That is to say that there is one all pervasive reality in the world and what is seen as diversity is a unity in itself. He explains it by giving an example of a candle, the wax of which could be moulded into different forms of human beings and animals. All these objects owe their existence to the candle as with its wax they came into existence and as they owe their existence to the candle they do inherit its nature. The candle having bestowed the existence on them loses it own, but does exists in the objects owing their existence to it.[17]

The second point of view regarding the existence of things consists in conceiving their antonyms. It should be recalled here that Mujaddid Alf Sani in explaining the existence of the objects, points out that every thing that exists has its paradox, contradiction such as the opposite of life is death. Similar is the case of other things. They also have their opposites. Shah Waliullah here

explains the same point of view. The opposites are replaced in the existence and become existents. To put it explicitly it means that the adumberation of the opposite casts a new form of existence. For instance the opposite of will or arrogance is humility. When arrogant will is reflected in its opposite it will be seen as existent. When all the things are taken to come to existence in this way, it is, then, possible to persue the principle and see its implementation on the principle ~~and see its implementation on the principle~~ of existence. This point of view is presented by the upholders of wahdatul shuhud.[10]

Having explained both the points of view Shah Waliullah proceeds to justify them. In his opinion both of them are correct for even after the difference of contention the conclusion is the same. To explain the similarity he first takes up Wahdatul Shuhud.

Some of the critics are of the view that the Mujaddid has not been able to explain his point of view clearly but Shah Waliullah does not share any one of them. He holds that the Mujaddid has explicitly explained his intuition. In order to understand it we shall have to unfold the metaphors and conceits and by unfolding them we shall come to conclude that the contingent existence is full of many

flaws. Their existence is renewed with less imperfection. The propounder and the followers of Wahdatul Shuhud justifiably uphold the assertion regarding the world consisting of opposites. We can come to the conclusion that the contingent beings are the opposites of the necessary beings and the casting of the adumberation of the necessary beings in the opposite results into the new forms of existence.

The discussion taken up here requires a great detail. The first of all that draws our attention is God. He also is present like the world of objects but with the difference that His presence is felt and the feeling of His presence is in the nature of man. For the realisation of His presence one needs to perform no sufi practices. Every Muslim with illumined heart is aware of Him as the creator of this world. That such realisation is in the nature of man is supported by the Shariat and tradition.

فطرت الله التی فطر الناس علیها لا تبدیل لخلق الله

(The nature of God on which He created man and His laws are not to be changed).

کل مولود یولد علی الفطرة

(Every one who is borne, is created according to his nature)

This state of knowledge and understanding which depends on right intuition and true indication is one of the many divine lights (tajalli). This light appeared in His being

even before the creation of the world of objects.[19]

The reason for this is concealed in the fact that every thing is induced to its nature. Man is induced to the cognition of God as it is in his nature. Shah Waliullah here gives two instances. (1) The iron is attracted towards the magnet. (2) The earth due to its gravitation is bound to its axis. It is possible because it is in the nature of things. Everything does as its nature wants it to do. To substantiate it he quotes a tradition :

ستروں ربکم عز وجل کما ترون القمر لیلة البدر - لا تضامون
في رؤيته - فان استطعتم ان تغلبوا على صلوة قبل طلوع الشمس
وغروبها فافعلوا -

(You will see your God as you see the full moon. In seeing him you will have no difficulty. Offer your prayers before the dawn and dusk if you can). 20

The Shah is of the view that the divine names are also the indication of the same birth. The very same truth is aimed at by the sufis in their contemplation on existence. They are of the view that the existence is revealed in two different manifestations. The first of them is the manifestation which is essentially characterised by cruelty, suppression, effectiveness, workability and holiness. And the second one of them is the manifestation which admits the possibility of effectiveness, cruelty and suppression, prudence and indulgence. Shah Waliullah holds that the same truth is aimed at by Ibne Arabi in his assertion that the

world of space possesses the quality of novelty. It is the duty of man to comprehend his nature. If he understands it, he is on the right path and any deviation of him from this nature makes him an atheist. The knowledge that the reality of things is unpruned is concealed in the nature of man. It also consists in the fact that every object has a quality which is in the nature of its constitution. In order to make it clear he gives some instances, for example burning is the quality of fire, cooling is the quality of water, prayer is a virtue, adultery is an evil. Thus the qualities of burning, cooling, goodness and badness are in the core of things and inseparable from them. Let us recall here Locke who also speaks of the quality of things and divides them as the primary and secondary ones. Shah Waliullah also conceives of the qualities which are almost the very elements of objects without which their existence cannot be thought of.[21]

Having described the nature of objects and the nature of man Shah Waliullah comes to a very interesting discussion. Admitting the fact that the Scholars of 'Shariat' do not allow to probe into the nature of the existence of things, yet the sufis, justifying it on their own grounds, have persued the probe and in their probing they have taken the concept and existence of a thing to mean one and the same. Shah Waliullah

is of the view that the concept and the existence are different. For example triad of concept is different from the triad of existence. Similar is the case with other objects. Thus he separates the existence from concept. It is because of this difference that the things come into existence. He means to say that the concept precedes existence or in other words the existence proceeds from the concept. On the level of existence the thing acquires the qualities of ability and objectivity. By ability it is meant that an object is able to perform something, for example, burning is the ability of fire, cooling is the ability of water and so on. It would also mean that an object has got a power, and that power is its ability. As he has already pointed out, it is inherent in the object itself. The meaning of objectivity needs no clarification. It would suffice to say that it is the form that makes it an object. In this way the Shah recognises that the form of a thing in concept is different from the one perceived in existence. The difference brings him to ponder over two important questions : (1) the question regarding the reality of existence and (2) the question regarding the relation of the qualities to the existence. It will be apt to mention that here Shah Waliullah seems to echo Farabi who, like him,

also differentiates the concept describing it as 'the that' and 'the what' of a thing but Farabi does not speak of the addition of qualities on the existential level to the objects. Before Shah Waliullah the muslim philosophers, except Farabi had blinded the concept and the existence and considered both of them as existence separating it from non-existence. The meaning of it is evident. They recognised the two states namely, the one of existence and the other of non-existence. Shah Waliullah is the one who categorizes the existence itself in the existence conceived and the existence perceived.[22]

As regards the first question Shah Waliullah is of the view that the existence is objective and qualitative. He clarifies it by saying that it does not mean that God has created the concept first and thereafter bestowed the qualities upon it to bring it into existence.[23]

It clearly means that the concept and existence are nothing but the matters of abstractions and objectivity. Here again he puts forward a view synthetic in nature by considering it to be true from one point of view and false from the other. He first takes up the latter point of view saying that it is wrong because the existence and the concept are blended with each other and placed in one category. Contrary to this we are aware of the fact that the qualities

are the determining factors of existence. They are also related with the concept of things because whatever the qualities conceived in an object, are perceived in its existence. It is evident that the concept and the qualities must exist separately, else there would be no meaning of abstraction and objectivity. In connection with this some philosophers are of the view that God has created the concepts only but when they observed that the concepts also possess the qualities, they came to believe in the objective existence of them. Shah Waliullah here again points out the elements of falsity and truth in the proposition and belief. The element of falsity lies in the fact that the existence is here limited to the concept only.[24]

The qualities which determine the existence of a thing have also been created by God just as He has created their concepts. It will be understood that this world does not have different types of existence which are related to the concept and believing in it. The existence is divided into different categories namely ; (1) the absolute existence covering up all existence and (2) the existence possessing the qualities. The existence possessing the qualities is not only a matter of intuition. It is true, yet we do not know the relation between the absolute existence and the

objective existence. Both of these groups of Philosophers believing in the absoluteness and the objectivity of existence do share the elements of falsity and truth and by studying them one is not satisfied.[25]

The propounders of Wahdatul Wujud are of the view that existence perceived is present in the form of potentialities in the absolute being. It manifests itself in the object or different modes. Thus in order to exist it is necessary that it should be present in the potential form. To this potential form they call the characteristic feature of a particular mode in which the being manifests. Thus the existence is divided as the necessary being and the contingent being or possible being. In the case of necessary being there is no question of potentiality (Zamina or Zhar Zaid) and in the case of contingent or possible being the potentiality is necessary. The potentiality is an existence surrounding all the objects. It is reality by itself, it is devoided of all qualities as it is a quality in itself. It is indeterminate and is realised by intuition. These potentialities are the potentialities of knowledge which are manifested in the objects of the world. Then the propounders of Wahdatul Wujud come to the stages of manifestation. In the first place it is the essence of God or the divine being. In the second

place it is the knowledge of the essence and in third place it is its manifestation in the Ayanul-Sabitah or in the objects. All these three are abstractions and realised by intuition.[26]

Having understood the stages of divine light (tajalliyat) it becomes easy to understand the existence of possible being. It is the being in which the necessary being manifests itself through the potentialities of it. Its manifestation through the potentialities makes the existence of the contingent being possible. As we know the propounders of Wahdatul Wujud are of the view that the Ayane thabitha (object) are in the knowledge of God. It means that they are present in the form of potentialities in God and He, having cognised them, brings them to existence. When these potentialities are actualised they become the contingent or the possible being. The existence of the possible being is pre-conditioned by actualization. Its actualization makes it possible and determinate and so long as it is in the potentiality, it is undeterminate and the necessary being. The existence of the contingent being is the expression of a realtion between the existence and the potentialities of the objects. The relation can, however, not be established or explained but it is self-evident. On this stage of

existence God manifests Himself in different modes. The manifestation means that the potentialities have been fully actualized and become determinate.[27]

Having given his own interpretation of Wahdatul Wujud Shah Waliullah now comes to speak of his own opinion regarding the verasity of the thought. In establishing it he justifies it on the basis of reason and intuition. He is of the view that Ibnul Arabi's philosophy of Panentheism is in correlation with that of Wahdatul Shuhud. To explain the truth of it he takes up the example of a battlefield in which all the participants are bodies and being the bodies they are one and the same. The invader and the invaded, the murderer and the murdered, the concqueror and the conquered are one as all of them are bodies. In spite of the fact that all of them are bodies they cannot be understood as one just for the reason that they are bodies unless some common and essential qualities are ascribed to them. It is, of course, evident that when these essential qualities will be visualized in their potential form, they will be indeterminate and void of all qualities. But no sooner than are they ascribed to an object they become qualities and would themselves become modes and manifestations and also be the cause of them. With the addition of the qualities or in other words, after the

actualization of the potentialities the form becomes meaningful and it appears in the form of many things having the manifestation of one in whom they lied in potentialities. Thus different objects come into being and together with this the relation between the object and its potentiality also comes before us. Though we do not understand its nature yet we know that there must be some for without it things could not have come into existence.[28]

By calling something a sword we mean that the relation between its existence and the potentiality has been established or we can say that the existence has been objectified or that the potentiality has been actualized or that the potentiality has manifested itself in a particular form known as the sword. Before its actualization or manifestation it could have presumed any other form but now when it has appeared as sword we call it 'sword'. Thus essentially it is the potentialities which could have come in different existence. The particular existence in a particular form, then, does not mean anything more than that it has come in that form just because the necessary being has manifested itself in that form. Shah Waliullah supports the view and is of the opinion that it is categorically true, provided the complications are removed

which is not the least difficult for a man of reason. We shall see it later on what grounds he supports it.[29]

In the preceding passage he has explained the unity of bodies (by it we mean that the existence presented a priori in the potentialities could assume any of the forms out of many which means that the existence is prior to the body. It will be clear when the concept of matter will be discussed. At present we should recall Ibnul Arabi's view regarding the issue which Shah Waliullah has explicitly explained in the foregoing passage. The matter is the non-being when the potentialities present a priori in the necessary being are exerted upon it and then different objects come into existence. Thus the unity in diversity lies in the fact that the existence could be in anybody before being objectified or getting actualized. Having it explained, he comes to a more subtle point which has been a matter of dispute.[30]

When it has been proved that bodies or different objects have one thing in common and that is the existence, there remains no difficulty in comprehending that the existence is prior to the matter or objects, for it is because of this that the things come into existence in a particular objectified form. Thus if it is believed to be true in case of bodies and it definitely is true, for as

it has been explained, the body is not prior. However, it being true of body must necessarily be true of existence and when a sufi pronounces 'al alam ainul haq' (The world is God), he means nothing other than that the existence of the world is a reality and it comes from God. In our opinion the conclusion is, however, quite logical for something from God does not make it God and the sufis of Wahdatul Wujud school did not mean it either. The manifestation of God in things as advocated by them means that God is in them. 'Al alam ainul haq' would better be interpreted if the term 'Haq' is taken to mean the real. The world is real. The whole of it means nothing more than this and it is real because it comes from the all pervasive reality. The contention can be supported by substantiating it on the ground that Ibnul Arabi reduces the categories of being into two from the three, that is, the necessary, the possible, and the impossible. The possible or contingent is reduced to necessary as it is present apriori as the potentialities in the necessary being. Thus the world being the potentialities of the necessary being is real as they themselves are real since they are the part of reality. Thus 'al alam ainul haq' as pronounced by the sufis would mean what we have interpreted on the basis of the arguments.[31]

Shah Waliullah justifies it on the basis of logical grounds. A Logician when asserts that Zaid and Umar are one, he means nothing other than, by asserting it, that both of them are men and share the common and essential qualities of a man. Similarly when he says that man and horse are one, he only means that the animality is common in both of them that they are one as animals. In the same way when the brave and the lion are said to be alike, it means nothing but to point out the common quality of bravery in both of them. Similar is the case when a sufi pronounces 'al alam ainul haq'. By the pronouncement he only means that the existence of the world is real as God Himself is real. He does not deny in his assertion the determination and objectivity of the things around. Contrary to this he means to affirm the existence (matter) surrounding the world which is present a priori in God in the form of potentialities. It means that God is manifesting Himself in the objects of the world by bringing them into existence through the potentialities present in His own being. Thus in the pronouncement he affirms the manifestation and its reality. He, then, proceeds to overrule an objection against Wahdatul Wujud. The objection raised against it is that the existence and reality must be one and the same as the former comes from

the later. Having affirmed the first truth, that is the reality of God, it is clear that it cannot be challenged. He, being the source of existence, is also affirmed and His affirmation proves the reality of existence (matter) but both of them are on the equal footing is not correct and justified.[32]

Answering the objection Shah Waliullah says that the criticism does not stand upto the mark because the reality of the existence (matter) is not believed to be of the nature of the reality of the world of soul. The reason acknowledging the categories of existence does not perceive any relation between them. Yet it does not outrightly reject it. Contrary to this, it admits the manifestation of God in the world and acknowledges Him as the source of existence. It is compelled to admit it for reason (Aql), soul (Ruh), and existence (Matter (Madda) are related in such a way that each of them is the image of one another. To make it evident Shah Waliullah puts forward an example, e.g., the wax is capable of being made into many determinates. It means that it can assume different forms whatsoever desired. Each of them will be a determinate. Likewise, the ring possesses the capacity of being engraved. In the same way the whole which is God (soul) is capable to exist

(express) in different material forms (matter) (Madda). Each of them is its part. The reason admits that the parts must belong to the whole or the whole must be seen in parts. Inspite of being seen in parts the whole does not lose its identity. This type of relation is existing between soul and matter (Madda). When it manifests itself in different forms, it is in parts and when seen apart and above, it is the whole. A man of intuition must be aware of these distinctions. Justifying it on the basis of synthesis, which is this methodology, he comes to Sheikh Sarhindi. The Sheikh is of the view that the attributes are present in the objects. They must be distinguished from the essence. Describing the effects of the attributes the Shaikh is of the opinion that each of them has its opposite e.g. the opposite of knowledge is ignorance likewise the opposite of power or arrogance is humility (Ijz). In the knowledge of God they are distinct and being distinct they become the source of existence. God is cognisent of them and exerts them on the opposites. It means that the names and the attributes are reflected in their opposites. Thus opposite or 'adam' is the being and the attributes exerting on the opposites are reflected in them.[33]

Regarding this Shah Waliullah explains the difference

between Ibnu l Arabi and Mujaddid Alf Thani. Ibnul Arabi is of the view that the existence is nothing but the manifestation of the names and attributes of God but Mujaddid Alf Thani holds that it is not the opposites on which the attributes are imposed. The matter of fact remains only that God has the knowledge of all the forms and when He wants any of them to give a particular existence, He bestowes it upon the form by reflecting the attribute in the opposite and thereafter the form comes in the world of existence from the world of knowledge. Shah Waliullah is of the view that the Mujaddid is not clear on the point. He sometimes asserts that the world is the adumberation of the existence of the One and at others he holds that the world has a nominal existence which is real and systematic. In our opinion the statements are not contradictory but simply different ways to explain one and the same thing. The image of the existence of the One is comparatively nominal to that of the real existence. It means that it should remain so long as the One reflects in it and comes to cease when it ceases to reflect. Inspite of being nominal it is real as it is the image of the real. We should explain it with an example. A man looks into the mirror. His image would exist in it so long as he stands before it. But as soon as

he moves away, his image would also disappear. In this way his image is nominal but real as well because it is the image of a real man. There is certainly a difference in his reality and the reality of the image. We, however, wish to assert clearly that by calling the world a nominal existence the Mujaddid, like Shankara, did never mean to call it illusion or mere appearance.[34]

But what we have asserted has also been pointed out by Shah Waliullah. He is of the view that reality should be viewed on different stages. For example, the reality of man is different from the reality of horse, and the reality of horse is different from the reality of water. There is a difference of the nature of reality. Apart from it is the reality of the forms (Umur-e-thabitah). They are either existent or non-existent. They come into existence when it is bestowed upon them, else they remain in 'adam' or non-existence. A logician (Maquli) calls them as forms and is aware of their nature but he does not understand their relation with God. Shah Waliullah here points out that their relation with God can be intuitively realised by the sufis of Wahdatul Wujud only. By the gnosis he understands that God first cognised Himself and in His self-cognition He cognised His essence (Zat), His powers (Kamalat)

(Perfections), and evolutional capacities (tahqiqi taqaze). Having cognised His essence He cognised His attributes. The cognizance of names and attributes followed the cognizance of the potentialities present in them a priori.[35]

At the second stage of the cognizance, He cognised the whole (Kulliyat) and at the third stage of cognizance He cognized the elements or parts (Juziyat). These elements or parts in accordance with their nature, are humble (to be acted upon) (Munfail), abominable (Maqhur) and are capable of the possibility of existence. In this way the contingent existence belongs to the knowledge of God. The contingence needs explanation. It is required in view of explaining its relation with the names and attributes. The contingent existence and the names and attributes cannot be conceived as separate existence. The possible being, in particular, depends for its existence on the names and attributes. It is because that each of them influences one another. What is known as contingent is actually that which is concealed in the names and attributes. To make it clear let us point out that Ibne Arabi calls the contingent existence to be the manifestation of the names and attributes in which they are present as potentialities (Ayane thabita). Mujaddid Alf Thani, though rejecting Ibne Arabi's position, does

recognise that the objects are the adumberation of the names and attributes which assume the form after their reflection in the opposites (adam). Here, as a matter of fact, as we shall see, Shah Waliullah also shares the opinion, there is a difference but of the words or the way of expression. Even then we must acknowledge the difference of manifestation and reflection.[36]

Having given the two traditional interpretations regarding the existence of the contingent being Shah Waliullah comes to his own. He is of the view that the term possible being has here been used in a limited connotation. It includes in its connotation only the traveller (Salik) and his states (ahwal). He further explains it in the sufi terminology that the names and the attributes are conceived by a sufi as beloved (Mashuq). The contingent existence, which is the sufi himself, is the lover (Ashiq) and the all pervasive reality, which is transcendent and immanent, is beloved (God). Thus he is of the view that the contingent existence, as used here, does not include in its connotation the whole of the universe. To make it clear he explains it further that some times it so happens that the beloved attracts the lover. In the sufi terminology this is known as 'tadalli'. At this stage the beloved does not only

attract the sufi but also bestowes upon him the love and absorption in His being. The so attracted sufi in the sufi terminology, is 'Muhib' (lover). In order to sustain his contention Shah Waliullah gives the example of Al Ibrahim who had been guided by the Reality (God) Himself. God imparted upon him the knowledge that the wordly things cannot be the object of worship (rab wo Ilah) as they are subject to destruction and change. The object of worship can only be the thing which is apart from and above the subjection of destruction and change. The stage described here is one. There is yet another stage of the expression of love of the sufi. At this stage the man on the basis of his worship and adoration of God and purification of heart and soul attains the proximity of God. At this stage the man will be called as 'Salik' or Traveller. Apart from it there is still another stage in which there is a reciprocality. The sufi proceeds towards God for His proximity on one hand and God, in response to his remonstances and implorations, comes near him and in the journey of the lover and the beloved there comes a destination where both of them meet. Shah Waliullah calls this stage as one reached by the sufis of destiny only. The sufi who reached this stage is called 'Majzub' and 'Muhib' bearing in him the grace of

the beloved.[37]

Shah Waliullah goes on expressing himself in sufi terminology. Whatever has been said in the preceding passage means, as the Shah points out, that God enlightens the heart of a sufi with the divine light. This divine light is one which enshrines even the Haziratul Quds. This divine light reflects itself in 'Malae ala' (higher angels). It is the kind of the divine light on which depends the Divine names. Discussing the nature of the divine light Shah Waliullah is of the view that the will of God keeps on transgressing. The factor of transgression he, perhaps, brings forth to explain the contingent existence. We shall see it later on. He, however, is of the opinion that the divine light (tajalli) described above is the one towards which the man is attracted because it is in the nature of man.[38]

This divine light is gnosis. It is bestowed by God or in other words we can say it is His gift. Sometimes God chooses someone for His knowledge, gnosis. The chosen person in sufi terminology is 'Murad' and, as it has been mentioned earlier, it is attained by worship and adoration of God and purification of soul. One who attains it in this manner is called as 'Murid'. There is yet another

possibility in which the sufi does not attain the gnosis in the complete sense but he attains only a part of it and the part attained by him becomes the whole of him. It is a matter of influence. Any one of the names and attributes may exert on him a lasting influence and the lasting influence would lead him to absorb himself in it. The Shah gives here an example of a sufi influenced by one of His attributes 'Rahm' (Mercy). Due to the influence he will completely be annihilated in it. The annihilation in that attribute would in the sufi terminology be called as the comprehension of the reality of the attribute by a sufi. In the light of the above discussion of the divine light (tajalli) Shah Waliullah comes to the conclusion that the view of adumberation of Mujjaddid Alf Thani is in contrast with that of the manifestation propounded by Ibne Arabi. We are of the opinion that the interpretation of the contingence in its limited connotation is his own interpretation and it has been given to justify the view of the Mujaddid.[39]

Stepping forward Shah Waliullah attempts at a synthesis between the two views viz. Wujudi and Shuhudi. He has already explained in the preceding passage that the theory of adumberation (Zilliyat) does not in any way stand as

contrary to that of Ibne Arabi's. He then comes to bring out a synthesis and points out that Ibne Arabi's theory of manifestation is not in contrast with that of Mujaddid. Ibne Arabi's contention that the existence is nothing but the manifestation of the names and attributes is the other way of saying that it is their reflection. The synthesis is justified on the basis of his own interpretation by which the contingent is used in a limited connotation. In this sufism the Sheikh is of the opinion that a sufi aspires to embody in him the names and attributes of which he is the manifestation. It depends on the sufi that for which one of them he aspires and howfar the possibilities of knowledge are unfolded to him. The Mujaddid is also of the view that the sufi realizes the attributes of which he is the reflection and, as Shah Waliullah is of the view, he must be attracted towards them as returning to the source (Ruju) is in the nature of man and things other than Him. In this way with his own interpretation of possible being he brings a synthesis.[40]

The other intuitive differences are set aside by him considering them to be minor and thinking that the minor ones do not, however, carry any effect.

Having explained the contingence and possibility Shah Waliullah comes to the controversial problem of

attributes. As Ibne Arabi points out that the attributes cannot be distinguished and differentiated in categories, Shah Kaliullah, supporting his views, holds that the sufis in general do not believe in any distinction and difference between the attributes. In support of the assertion he puts forward two arguments. In the first place he contends that undoubtedly there is reality viewed as the Hearer and Seer (Sami and Basir). But to say that there are attributes existing independent of essence cannot be justified on any rational grounds. To explain it he gives the example of the movement of a man. When we see him moving we assert about him that he is alive without taking into consideration that the attributes namely movement and life are there in his essence or other than his essence. Thus any distinction in the essence and attributes would, as he points out, be irrelevant and irrational. What can be ascertained about them is that they are the necessary existence and being the necessary existence are the source of finite existence as Ibne Arabi holds.[41]

In the second place he argues that the necessary being (God) keeps on unfolding Itself in different attributes and forms. It is a truth which the reason admits. But it fails to accept that the attributes exist independent of

the essence. As a matter of fact the Shah regards it to be a simile with which the attributes are taken to be different in accordance with the forms of existence in the contingent objects. Thus on the basis of the second argument as well he rejects the theory favouring the separate and independent existence of attributes and thus shares with Ibne Arabi who dismisses it. It will not be off the point if we mention that by rejecting it he rejects mutazilites but he neither stands by the asharites who believed that attributes are over and above the essence of God. What he means to point out is that the attributes are in the essence of God. It is Ibne Arabi's position as well.[42]

Having spoken of the attributes he now comes to the world of objects. Taking it up he begins the discussion with seeming contradiction in the view of the Mujaddid regarding the existence of the world. We have seen that for the Shah it does not bring any such contradiction. The Mujaddid is of the view that the world is the adumberation (zalal and inikas) of the reality. Together with this, he also holds that the existence of the world is nominal. Shah Waliullah considers, as we have already pointed out, that there is no contradiction in the two assertions and if it is taken to be a contradiction it carries no importance.[43]

Discussing the Mujaddid Shah Waliullah gives his own views regarding the objective existence. He is of the view that God is on par with the objects and their potentialities (A'yan). It means that He is transcendent and being transcendent He is not in either of the two. But as Shah Waliullah thinks there is a divine light which is the source of existence and it is this divine light which expresses itself in different forms and shapes. It is this divine light on the basis of which it is ascertained that God has bestowed existence on the potentialities and the objects. We should also point out here that Shah Waliullah thinks that the existence of the objects depends on the mercy of God. Their actualization is possible by the divine light described above.[44]

Regarding the differences pointed out the Shah is of the view that they exist due to the misinterpretation or that they are there just because of the fact that they have not rightly been placed. It is a matter of interest as to what he means by right placement. In our opinion he means by it that the sufis have not resolved them in the historical perspective of events. In the discussion of his methodology we have pointed out that he gives it a great importance. He however is of the view that the right placement would not have created any confusion and more

than that could not have left them as differences at all. Regarding the attributes the Shah holds that the attributes have been conceived to be only that divine light which has been expressed is considered as attributes. The divine light has expressed itself in many folds and to each one of them an attribute has been ascribed. It is because of this fact that the sufis have considered them to be separate from the essence. He explains it with an example of the 'white' and 'whiteness' (bayaz and abyaz). The white signifies a colour distinction and the whiteness also stands for the same with a difference that one is the object or the noun and the other is the attribute of the object or the noun.

Thus he forms a basis for the explanation of his view regarding the attributes. The whiteness being the attribute of white refers to nothing but the white. In the same way the attributes of God can be viewed. He possesses all of these attributes. Some of them are mentioned here to explain the point of view and others can be viewed in the manner explained. When we take up the attribute of creation or life (Ibda) it means that it is the logical consequence of His knowledge; when His essence is considered to be related to the contingent it means that His essence reflects

itself in the objects before the process of creation. The attribute of Power (Qudrat) is spoken of in the context of the action of creation; when the will (Iradah) is described, it means that God has chosen one out of the two present in his knowledge apriori. His attribute of speech is understood in the context that He sends revelation to the prophets and the angels. In the same way when he is called as 'Hearer' (al Sami) and 'Seer' (al Basir), it means that He is the source of all that is heard and all that is seen.

Shah Waliullah in the discussion of attributes explicitly points out two important things. Firstly that they can be understood in the context of objects but understanding them in the context of objects does not make them independent of His essence. They are the forms expressed in things. The source of the expression is the divine light. Here he is in proximity with Ibne Arabi. In the most of the discussions he is more inclined towards Mujaddid Alf Thani.[45]

We conclude his metaphysics by describing his thought regarding the two schools presented in 'Fuyuzul Haramain'. The book describes his dreams. In our opinion, these dreams should be taken as the expression of his views of

which he is fully conscious.

The first observation of the book 'Fuyuzul Harmain' is related to Wahdatul Wujud and Wahdatul Shuhud. In his vision Shah Waliullah visualises the followers of the two schools. The first is the one believing in Wahdatul Wujud and the other belongs to Wahdatul Shuhud. Regarding the followers of Wahdatul Wujud he observes that they are deprived of the divine light, are ashamed of their efforts and interpretation and the fire of dissatisfaction is burning their heart, body and mind. The other set of the followers belonging to Wahdatul Shuhud is contented, illumined and proud of their deeds. The latter asserts upon the former that it is better. The Shah intervenes the discussion and is invited by the two as a judge. Having heard their arguments Shah explained that the knowledge is of two types. The first is the one which purifies and reforms the soul. The second is the one which performs no such an act. Regarding the acquisition of knowledge he is of the view that every soul has its own capacity and it requires knowledge in accordance with its capacity and aptitude. If the knowledge acquired by the soul is in accordance with the capacity and the aptitude, the soul is absorbed in it and is consequently reformed by it.

Wahdatul Wujud is a true knowledge but those who acquired it, did not have the souls capable of its acquisition.[46]

Coming to the other group of people he asserts that the knowledge acquired by them was in accordance with the capacity and aptitude of their souls. And it is, therefore, that their souls were reformed and purified. Contrary to this the believers of Wahdatul Wujud indulged themselves in explaining the manifestation of God in the world but they failed in attempting at it and the failure took away from them the honour and the veneration of God which is the guiding principle of the soul. Their souls for this reason are dissatisfied and they are ashamed of it. Addressing the followers of Wahdatul Wujud the Shah asserts they should not have revealed the secret of manifestation as their prudence was not sagacious enough to explain it. Theirv souls would have satisfied if they had worshipped God like angels. The proposition suggests that their worship like that of the angels should not have been based on inquiry into the secrets of manifestation.[47]

In the light of the discussion in 8 'Fuyzul Harmain' it is evident that the Shah favours the Wahdatul Shuhud. Here again the tendency of synthesis is present. He does not challenge the truth of Wahdatul Wujud but he does

defy the prudence of its advocates (Fuyuzul Haramain, pp. 53-57).

# CHAPTER - IV

## ELABORATION OF SUFISM AS PRESENTED BY SHAH WALIULLAH

The discussion regarding Wahdatul Wujud and Wahdatul Shuhud in the previous chapter clearly shows that the Shah was a great sufi and his tatbiq is nothing but the expression of his own intuitive experience. Therefore, it would be desirable to present the elaboration of sufism as presented by him. To begin with his sufi thougt we describe the nature of 'tasawwuf'.

Prophet Muhammad, the Shah says, was sent in the world to preach Islam and God giving him this responsibility promised to help him in his mission as is embodied in these words :

انا له لحافظون

(Verily I am his Saviour).

Islam is revealed to reform the people of the world. The feformation must be internal and external as well. Thus there are two aspects of Islam namely the external (Zahir) and the internal (Batin) aspect[1] The external one corrects the externalities such as social dealings, individuals actions etc. And the internal aspect reforms the Qalb (the innermost) of the individuals.[1]

It is evident, as the Shah points out, that the two aspects of religion in accordance with the promise of God, must be safeguarded and God fulfills it by creating the agencies to do the job. After the death of the prophet, God entrusted the task to the chosen ones. As it was difficult for man to take up the whole of it, God divided the task. Few of them were chosen to reform the religion from the pollution caused by the amulgamation of different beliefs of the people and by the evil that crops in the due course of time. The group of these reformers includes the traditionists, scholars and jurists and revivalists (Mujaddids). It reformed the external aspect of Islam. The responsibility of the reformation of the internal one was given to the other group which includes the sufis. History witnesses that the Islam has been reformed by many revivalists and sufis. One took up to wipe out the profanities from the religion and eradicate the evil from the society and the other bore the responsibility of purifying the heart and soul of the individual. Thus the external aspect was correlated by the reformers and the internal one (Ahsan) by the Sufis.[2]

The Shah names the internal aspect as 'Ihsan' - beautification. In order to make it explicit we should

give the etymology of the term 'ihsan'. It comes from the word 'hasana' which means virtue or beauty. He uses the term for the internal aspect of religion as it beautifies the within of the individual by purifying his soul and the beautification definitely induces him to virtue. He, however, defines 'ihsan' by saying that it is a state where a sufi has the vision of God or at least realises His presence.[3]

The sufi who reaches the state of ihsan is given the capacity of attracting the people towards himself. His words are effective, his deeds are impressive and his prayers are granted. He becomes the source of inspiration for many people and they become his disciples. He shows to them different miracles (Karamat) and by meditation and contemplation he reads the hearts of the people and knows the future. The miracles (Karamat) confirm the belief of his followers in his spiritual leadership. As he is chosen to correct the internal aspect, God helps him. His prayers are granted and his disciples are relieved of the afflictions and pains. He is followed by many and thus found' an order (silsilah). Those following the silsilah share the bounties of God. The school in course of time loses its effectiveness, importance and dignity and God, then,

chooses some other sufi to establish another silsilah having all the spiritual qualities. As Shah Waliullah points out that the effectiveness and the attraction is not at all wordly. It is nether affected by the time. It is based upon the mercy of God. So long as God is kind to a particular 'silsilah' it remains effective and the centre of attraction as well. But when He chooses to demolish it the other one is established and is equally effective and attractive. Thus it is the mercy of God to make it effective and attractive and it is at the time of the rise of a 'silsilah' that its sufis are heard to have been saying that their silsilah is better than others. Shah Waliullah here means to point out that every silsilah of sufism is valuable and true. On becoming its ineffective and unattractive we should not find faults with it, for all it depends on the will of God.[4]

In accordance with his proclamation God Greates reformers to preserve the original spirit of Islam and the sufis to purify the souls of the followers. To fulfil the mission, as Shah Waliullah points out, many orders of sufism (silsilah) came into existence; some of them still have their entity; others have lost their integrity and still others have merged into the existing ones and have

become their part. Regarding the number of sufi orders there is a difference of opinion. Some are of the view that they are fourteen (14) in number, some of which are named as Zaidi, Ayazi, Adhami, Hubairi, Chishti, Junaidi and Garduni. Some other writers give a list of twelve schools different from the previous ones. Some of them are Junaidya, Makamiya, Mahasibiya, Haqiqiya, Nooriya, and Taifuriya. In addition to them many other orders were also established such as Jamiya, Qadreya, Akbariya, Saharwardiya, Kibrwiya, Owaisiya. Having named these orders the Shah gives a brief list of the schools established in India. Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti was the first to found the Chishtiya order in India. As he was the founder, the order is also named after him as Moiniya. This order was followed by Suharwardi order founded by Shaikh Shihabuddin Suharwardi and then Naqshbandiya order was established by Khwaja Naqshband. The Baqiya line was started by Khawaja Baqi Billah. Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi founded Ahmadiya School. Seikh Obaidullah Ahrar established Ahrari order; Ghaus Gawaliori begins the Ghausia order, and Sheikh Abdul Quddus Gangohi set up Quddusi order. Thus the orders described here are those named after their founders. Shah Waliullah asserts that he had had spiritual attachment with many of

these schools. He was attached with Imdadiya order through Sheikh Hisamuddin Manakpuri who was among the companions of Sheikh Badiuddin Madar; with Jalaliya and Gazardina orders through Makhdum Jahaniyan; with Jamiya order through Khwaja Maudud Chishti and with Owaisya school through Khwaja Naqshband. With all of them he had spiritual bonds and took benefit in learning their sufi discipline.

In the light of the above passage we came to conclude that Shah Waliullah considers sufism necessary for the spiritual reformation of the followers of Islam. To him sufism is the instrument for the preservation of the internal aspect of Islam. Thus sufism as manifested in his thought is essential like the 'Shariah'. The former corrects the internal aspects and the latter reforms the external one. Consequently for the reform of the religion as a whole both of them are indispensable and even after standing apart both of them contribute a great deal to the development of one another. Thus the nature of sufism as suggested by him in the book 'Hamaat' is reformative.[5]

Having discussed the nature of four phases of sufism Shah Waliullah comes to its development. The development is traced in four ages. The first one of them begins

from the time of the prophet. In this age it is not a traditional sufism but that, we can say, was in initial stage. At the time of the prophet the followers took pleasure in following the religion as it was revealed to the prophet. Whatever was their problem regarding the religion and their own affairs as well, they went to him and the prophet presented the solution of their problem. They were satisfied. The externalities of the religion like that of the Shariah and the revealed book did not only correct their untoward behaviour but also reformed their within and they were guided by it in all spheres of life. They did not perform any act as they were asked to do it but did it as they thought its doing to be necessary for them. They were aware of the true spirit of religion. None of them showed any miracles (Karamat) and if any of the miracles (Karamat) did happen from them it was just by chance. It was because the prophet was alive and was taken to be the source of all miracles (Mojizat).

The reason for their not denying any miracle (Karāmat) as Shah Waliullah puts forward was the absence of the excitement in them which leads to these rapturous conditions. And if they came across any such rapturous conditions they took it as the element of faith. The followers in this

age often knew things of future by their wisdom and prudence. The Shah gives the example of Hazrat Abu Bakr who in his serious illness said that He Himself had made him ill. To put in brief, sufism as a discipline and as a tradition was not present in this age. They never pronounced the 'Shatah' or the words against Shariah. They followed the commands of God in order to refrain themselves not because they are asked to do so, for instance they paid Zakat so that they should save themselves from the evil of misery and not only because God wants the poor to share their wealth. Thus the sufism in the first age was in the simplest form.

The Shah very rightly points out that the sufism in its disciplinary and traditional form was not present in that age but he has not either mentioned asceticism. In the lifetime of the prophet some people, who had nothing to eat and wear, lived at the terrace of Masjide Nabawi. Some of them were those who had no interest in the worldly affairs. These dwellers were known as 'ashabe suffa'. Some of the writers on sufism in tracing the etymology of sufi take it as the source of the term.[6]

In the second phase of sufism, as the Shah points out, some of the followers of Islam were occupied with the sufi

practices. The number of such people was not very great. Most of the followers lived a life prescribed by Islam. But some of them considered the World to be a place of misery and illusion and they took refuge in the forests or on the hills. Thus they segregated themselves from the world. These people worshipped God and always engaged themselves in His remembrance. They did it not because of the fear of hell and temptation of heaven but because of their union with God. Their sole desire was to see the divine light, aware of the secrets of the world and the union of the soul with God. The object could be achieved through love and so they worshipped Him out of sheer love. The sufi practices drove them into self forgetfulness, ecstacy, and rapture and meditation and contemplation helped them to read the hearts of the people. Thus the characteristic of the second phase of mysticism, as pointed out by Shah Waliullah, is the beginning of the sufi practices.

Shah Waliullah is of the opinion that the sufism of the second phase lacked absorption of oneself in God. They were mainly concerned with the worship of God. In other words, they were the true devotees and worship of God was the only goal they aimed at.[7]

According to Shah Waliullah the third phase of sufism

begins from the time of Sheikh Abu Saeed Abul Khair and Sheikh Abul Hasan Khaqani. In this age there lived three kinds of people. The first were the common devotees; the second were the people who took to reform their inward self by their deeds and actions and the third were those who sought absorption (Jazb) in God. The first ones worshiped God as they were commanded for it; the second one did it to reform themselves; and the tird ones were lost in the remembrance of God. Their sole desire was to be lost in Him and to know the secrets of the world. Thus they sought the union with God with the help of meditation and their whole emphasis was on it. In this age the sufis did not engage themselves in the problems of wujud and shuhud. They only desired to annihilate their existence in God.[8]

The fourth phase in his opinion begins from little before Sheikh Mohiuddin Ibne Arabi. In this age the sufis were occupied with the problem of existence. They did not limit themselves to the worship of and attention to God but also took up the discussion of the problems like that of existence. They discussed as to how the world came into existence and which one is the first to come into being.

The sufis of all these four ages look different from each other on the basis of their actions and deeds but all of them, in his opinion, are in union with each other internally. Their souls were purified and illumined. They paved way to comprehend the First Cause. Their practices illumined the material and spiritual worlds. They have rendered a great service to the humanity. Shah Waliullah warns that in the discussion of the phases of sufism we should not amalgamate one with another. The contribution and the state of a sufi should be discussed in accordance with the age he lived in. Let us recall that this very assertion of Shah Waliullah is in accordance with his own theory of history which we have discussed earlier. In the conclusion of the discussion on the phases of sufism let us assert that we have described here whatever is said by Shah Waliullah regarding them.

We have discussed the phases of sufism. We shall now take up the 'Suluk' or travelling and give an account of its nature and importance in the progress of a sufi. It is customary that we should begin with its definition. As it is a sufi experience, an extensive definition cannot be given. We shall, however, define it as it has been defined by Shah Waliullah. He is of the view that Suluk

is a fact which he has realised with the help of the prophet Muhammad. The realisation of this fact is not in totality. He has only been given the knowledge of its garb. It means that he is not aware, as he himself admits, of the reality within the garb, whatsoever is known to him he takes up to describe.

Suluk, as he says, is the will of God. It is a method by which the will of God is to be persued in the world. The method of persuasion is decided by God and the decision is conveyed to the world of angels. From there comes its idea in the world of souls and thereafter the man follows it. It should be borne in mind that all of us do not know the method of the persuasion of the will of God (Suluk). It is known by the chosen ones and God choses them. Shah Waliullah states that one method of Suluk as decided by God remains present in the world and whatever is done by God cannot be undone by any power in the world and so is the case with the contrary. Thus Suluk (travelling) is the will of God known to the sufis through the agencies, namely the world of angels and the world of souls. The will can be pursued by some method and the method is also decided by God. Thus the Suluk in its perview also includes the method of persuasion. To put in brief, we should define

it as the method of the persuasion of the will of God.

Shah Waliullah is of the view that 'Suluk' is not the contemplation. As it has been said it is the will of God. Having defined it he proceeds to state the method of the revelation (Nuzul) of the will of God. The will of God in the form of traces and garbs first appears at the first sky and from there it comes down at the second sky. Here it assumes the form of knowledge and the formulation of rules and regulations is also done on this very sky. It helps the people to learn and write about it. On the third sky it takes up the colour of temperament and becomes the element of the temperament of the traveller (Salik). It gathers power and stability on the fourth sky and thus the scholars are categorised as great and small. On the fifth one the will gets strength and serenity and due to this those who do not follow it become the victims of catastrophies and attrocities. On the sixth sky it takes up the form of instruction and direction and the choosen ones are enlightened to show the correct path for the persuasion of the will of God to their fellow followers. On the seveth sky God makes it stable and its stability is of the kind, as the Shah says as that of the living in the stone which cannot be demolished until asundered in

particles. Thus the description embodies seven elements of the will of God. All these elements become one body in the world of angels and from there its trace or idea comes in the world of souls. Those sufis who are choosen by God follow this method of the persuasion of the will of God in their travelling.

Shah Waliullah includes the religion in the denotation of the term suluk and he is right to include it as religion is also a method to know the will of God. It has been said before that there can be one decision at one time and at another the first one being rejected yields place to the second. Here he particularly discusses jurisprudence. He is of the view that all the scholars of jurisprudence cannot claim to be knowing the will of God and so all jurisprudence cannot be in accordance with the will of God. It can be only one of them and only one of the scholars can claim to be knowing the will of God. It is true, as he says, all scholars and all sufis cannot be choosen to know it. There comes a problem, then, as to how he should know the chosen man and the chosen jurisprudence. Regarding it he only says that the chosen one is filled with illumination and grace. It is true that it cannot be the method of verification, yet let us assert that it is an

experience and that too a sufi experience which cannot be explained in objective terms. It is subjective to a great extent.

Having described the suluk as method and as the will of God he describes his own experience. He asserts that he learnt it from the prophet. He saw the soul of the prophet which taught him the method of suluk (travelling). The soul revealed on the Shah some of the divine lights. The first one revealed on him was the light of the existence of the prophet manifested in his ideal being. The Shah, as he says, was annihilated in it and thereafter came in the state of subsistence (baqa). The second one of them was the light of the essence of the previous manifestation. It is the light running through the being of all things. The Shah was annihilated in it and again got subsistence (baqa). In the third place the light revealed in him was that one of the reality of the being (God) which also included the matter. The fifth one was the light of the spiritual reality of the being of (God) devoid of matter. It was the point where a mystic desires to reach and return; going to and coming from the point is the travelling of a sufi. This point in the sufi terminology, is called

(indirajul nahaya fil badaya[1]). The fifth time when he saw the soul of the prophet it made him recognise a point in the realm of knowledge. This point, as he says, is similar to one described above. He does not tell what the point is but only states that knowing it is profitable to influence the students. Thus by this ascending and descending he completes the travel in accordance with the will of God. Each time he is annihilated and comes to the state of subsistence (baqa).

States of the Travel (Suluk) :

We have discussed the definition and nature of the travel. We now come to the stages of travel as put forward by Shah Waliullah. In his travel a mystic passes through many stages. According to the Shah 'Ta'at' or servitude is the first one of them. Beginning with it he asserts that at the outset a Salik or a traveller has to cultivate in him the feeling of servitude to the Almighty for without it he cannot put even a step into the wide realm of sufism.

---

1. A traveller when starts in search of truth goes forth by crossing different manifestations of existence and in the end reaches a point where he sees, the essence of his existence. Seeing on he returns to the starting point. This rise and fall in the sufi terminology is known as 'indirajul nahaya fil badaya'.

As we know sufi principles or 'Tariqat', inspite of the apparent differences existing in the 'Silsilas', are one in spirit and all the sufis belonging to any of the lines follow the 'tariqat' propounded by Sheikh Junaid Baghdadi. The Shah is of the view that the Sheikh is the first man to give sufism a definite shape in the form of 'tariqat'.[1] And thereafter sufis of different schools followed it. Shah Waliullah cites the example of Badiuddin Madar who did not belong to the Qadiriya line, yet claimed to be following the discipline of Qadiriya order (Silsilah). Thus the source of sufi discipline is one and he is Shaikh Junaid Baghdadi.[9]

4 In his sufi discipline servitude to God is the first. It is indispensable for him, in the beginning that he should from the core of his heart be servile to the Almighty, the root of servility lie in the faith and the source of faith in all the companions of the prophet and the companions of

---

1. 'Tariqat' is the inner aspect of 'Shariah'. Shariah as we know is the law of Islam and every Muslim irrespective of Scholarship abides by it. But the sufis have their inner laws of life and the totality of them is known as 'tariqat'. It is contended that they know the secrets and that they have achieved union with God, in otherwords, annihilation in Him.

the companions. In the first stage of his travel a Salik or Traveller should not indulge himself in the discussion of the five stages of existence as described by Wahdatul Wujud - Essence of God, emanation of unity, world of souls, world of ideas, world of Matter. The traveller is advised not to contemplate over them as they are complex, multi-ferious and difficult to resolve. By this indulgence in them he may be deviated from the right path of faith.

The traveller should also take a note of the fact that if he is not able to understand the traditions he should only study any one of the four schools : Jurisprudence (fiqah) and be its staunch believer. And if he has the ability to comprehend the tradition he should study them and be guided by them and should also pursue the legal complications in the scholars of jurisprudence. He should avoid such things and be a simple follower. Thus keeping these things in view a sufi traveller or salik should follow the path of servitude in the beginning of the course of his travel.[10]

The second stage in the travel of a sufi is of Zikro Azkar, awarad and wazaif. At this stage a salik should engage himself in the remembrance of God, recitation of the Holy Quran, prayers, assigned repetitions of the names

of God (Awrad) and Wazaif. Shah Waliullah here clearly points out that different sufis have prescribed different awrad and wazaif and also different ways to perform them. He specifically mentions the following :

1. Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jilani (Ghause Azam) prescribes different awrads and wazaif in his book 'Ghaniyat-al-Talibin'.
2. The Chishti mystics recommended another way.
3. Sheikh Abdul Hasan Sharli proposes the repetition of 'Hazbul Bahr'.
4. Mir Syed Ali Hamdani prescribes his own Wazaif.
5. Sheikh Shahabuddin Saharwardi advocates for his Wazaif.
6. Imam Ghazali in his book 'Ahyaul Ulum' approves of another way of Wazaif.[11]

Shah Waliullah very meakly supports the way prescribed by Ghazali.

In the second place a traveller at this stage should save himself from all evils. He should in particular not indulge himself in the details of small things about hypocrisy. Regarding it he should believe in and follow whatever is written in the book of tradition and sunnah. His going in its detail will certainly harm him. He explains it by giving an example of a child afraid of a wolf.

Contrary to this his father, should have taken all the steps to root out his fear from the animal. In the same way a sufi indulging himself into the details of hypocrisy and dissimulation falls a victim of the fright concealed therein. Thus like the child he must keep himself aloof of them.[12]

In order to refrain from it a traveller requires training and his training lies in the remembrance of Almighty and the repetition of wazaif. At the time of remembrance to God he should completely be absorbed in Him so that he is not able to think of any thing other than God. In addition to this he should be taught to contemplate over the high and lofty objects of the world instead of thinking over the low and ordinary ones. Moreover, the traveller must not have love for wealth and the other worldly things. It is to be reduced gradually. When he is engaged in the contemplation and meditation nothing should disturb him. In addition to this, he should cultivate in him the love of God, and it should be so intense that when he pronounces that he loves God, his heart should witness his pronouncement.[13]

In the third place Shah Waliullah again emphasises on the importance of 'awarad' and 'wazaif' by contending

that some of the sufis belonging to the Naqshbandiya line do not think them to be necessary for them. But the Shah is of the view that it is wrong to say so as prayers are however beneficial. He argues that Khwaja Naqshband has not challenged the validity of 'awarad and wazaif' but he has only not prescribed any specific way of their pronouncement and performance. He recommends the way prescribed by tradition. In his opinion Khwaja Naqshband has done it because he took it as a matter of expediency. As it is better to refer to the tradition when there is a great difference of opinion regarding anything Khwaja Naqshband considering it a problem of this nature referred it to the tradition and preferred to act in accordance with it.[14]

The fourth stage in the travel of a sufi is prayer or worship. A salik must spend most of his time in the worship of God. Shah Waliullah suggests to perform fifty 'rakats' of prayer in a day. In addition to this, a sufi should also perform the remembrance (zikr) and wazaif. He is also suggested to be contented in connection with food. Regarding the dress the Shah is of the view that he should be seen in the garb of his status and profession. Summarising it, in his opinion, a sufi must fulfil all his duties to God which consist in the five cardinal principles namely

faith, Namaz, Roza, Zakat and Haj.[15]

Shah Waliullah has often spoken of the importance of the remembrance (zikr) of God. It has been repeated because it is the basis of sufism as it inculcates in a sufi the love of God, and the love of God is the prerequisite for a sufi to reach the goal. In the preceding lines the Shah speaks of the way in which the remembrance of God is to be made. The first and the most important thing regarding it is the excitement. At that time he should not think of any other thing except God. A sufi should make all his efforts to bring himself into this state. In order to prepare himself he is recommended to read love stories, listen to music and do things of this sort.[16]

Regarding the remembrance (zikr) of God, as the Shah points out, three things are to be kept in mind. The first one of them is the way in which it is to be made - consisting in the shaking of head, striking at the heart and pronouncing لا اله الا الله (there is nothing to be worshipped except God) in the proper way. The second one of them is the controversy regarding the remembrance loudly (zikr Jali) and the remembrance silently (zikr khafi). The sufis of Naqshbandiya order reject the remembrance loudly but Shah Waliullah very vehemently approves of it. He is of the

opinion that Khwaja Naqshband himself did not outrightly reject it but only preferred the latter to the former. Moreover, he asserts that the Khwaja being a great sufi had a tremendous effect in his remembrance and he could achieve by it all that desired by others, but they do not. Thus for others remembrance loudly is more than indispensable. The third one of them is the difference between remembrance and contemplation. As Shah Waliullah says referring to other sufis that two are not related, there should, therefore, be something to bridge the gap and relate the two. Establishing a relation between them is necessary in our opinion for verbal pronouncement should also be felt and for feeling it contemplation is a must. It however stands necessary that the remembrance and the contemplation should be related. Shah Waliullah brings in remembrance by heart - 'Zikre Qalbi' - to relate the two and justifies its importance and existence as agency by the tradition :

..............................................

(What the believers see as good is good to God).[17]

The next stage in the travel of a sufi is the meditation. At this stage a sufi should devote himself to the meditation of God. The stage follows the state of

love and ecstasy. In order to engage himself in meditation a salik must be in the state of absorption. It means that he should be lost in the remembrance of God. Meditation means that a sufi should see the divine light in all the objects of the world. He should be lost so much in it that he is unable to see anything other than the divine light. It is worthwhile to mention here that it is the stage when sufis like Mansur Hallaj pronounced 'anal haq' (I am the truth) and Bayazid Bistami 'Subhāni ma azm thani' (holy am I ; how great is my glory). Shah Waliullah is of the opinion that having seen God in all things a sufi in the next stage should visualise the divine light as separate from the objects of the world. Discernment between the two is possible only in the state of consciousness.[18]

To begin with, a sufi should start his meditation by segregating himself in every possible way from the worldly desires and sensual pleasures. Now Shah Waliullah speaks of the course of meditation. Many of the sufis have recommended different ways of meditation. Meditation is however necessary. It gives a sufi a tremendous power to penetrate into the things having no objective existence. For instance, some of the sufis in their meditation see their ideas in objectified form. Shah Waliullah is of the

opinion that meditation to God is the only describable goal of a sufi. It is the one permitted by Shariah. Explaining it he asserts that attention is essential for meditation. He categorises the attention as attention to the name and attention to the named. Attention to name is like the pulse with gaps in beating and each of them being different from one another and attention to the named is continous like a never ending thread or a sound continuously heard. Having achieved this state or paid the latter type of attention a sufi gets a great power. He is able to penetrate into the secrets of the world, and his heart, mind and senses speak of the knowledge revealed in meditation.

We have discussed the stages in the travel of a sufi, we shall now take up the obstacles barring a sufi to go on the cou.se of his desired travel. These hinderences stand in his way as the delictical mountains but a spirited and true sufi overcomes these obstacles and proceeds on his way.[19]

The most important of them are the ideas and temptations. It is often noted that concentration is difficult and a man is disturbed by his own ideas. Similar is the case with temptations. They also occupy a greater part of the human mind. It is thus more than

essential that a sufi for whom concentration is a requisite requirement need do away with these ideas and temptations. Shah Waliullah thus suggests measures for doing away with them, but before it we should speak of his classification of these disturbing ideas and temptations.[20]

He classified them into two categories. In the first category he includes the ideas and temptations admitted willingly. In them he includes the ideas and temptations like to have a jar full of honey and having a good breed of hens from one hen. Such day dreaming and false imagination is very common but for a salik it is necessary to avoid them. Moreover Shah Waliullah also includes the logical discussions of how and why in this category. We are not concerned to debate the validity of the logic of things and ideas. He speaks of them from the point of view of sufism and not of its etymology. A sufi in the course of his travel has to begin from staunch faith, and logicality does shake it. The second category consists of the casual and occasional ideas which enter the mind and disturb the sufi. He should also be conscious of them and avoid them effectively. Another equally important hinderance is the anxiety or eagerness. A salik reaches this state due to many causes. Shah Waliullah mentions

them and also suggests the measures for their avoidence. The first one of them is indigestion. It should be immediately be overcome by treatment. The second one of them is pollution. If a Salik is profane, he feels worried and restless. He should atonce have a bath and clean himself. Thirdly committing sins also causes worries and anxiety. A traveller should refrain himself from committing sins. The effect of the evil souls and magic also profanes the mind of a salik. In order to avoid it the salik should practise the remembrance of God. Fifthly, the disrespect of great sufis and scholars also causes worries and anxiety. The salik should not indulge himself in any such thing. Sixthly, the love of the world is concealed in man in the form of tendency and it often instigates a sufi to engage himself in the wordly affairs. In connection with this he should try to overcome these tendencies. Seventhly, the difficulties and accidents in the course of the travel also sometimes terrify a sufi. To overcome these horrors he should take lessons from the life of the sufis. In brief, he is advised to find out the disease barring his progress in the course of his travel and thereafter follow the necessary treatment. If he feels unable to overcome them his guide (Pir) should come

to his rescue and help him in his progress.[21]

Having given the obstacles Shah Waliullah wants the traveller not to be satisfied and contented with what he often sees in his dreams or thinks in the course of remembrance and contemplation or visualises the divine light in the world. Having seen them he thinks to have got something valuable and such a thought bars his progress. The Shah therefore wants the traveller to observe patience at this stage and to go ahead to reach his goal. The lights that he sees, if he is certain, may be divine lights or the lights of the angels or of the souls of great sufis. Some of the sufis whom he does not name give some courses going on which results the vision of a particular light. Shah Waliullah does not agree with them. He leaves it to the salik himself.[22]

Unity of God (Tauhid) :

In the realm of sufism, unity of God has been a matter of discussion for all its scholars. The Mutazalites, the Asharites and the individual philosophers like Alghazali, Mujaddid Alf Thani and Shah Waliullah have expressed their views regarding the unity of God. We have discussed Mujaddid Alf Thani in an earlier section. We shall here contend with the views of Shah Waliullah

regarding the problem. But before it we should say a word about Alghazali who has also written on the unity of God.[1] He speaks of the stages of the unity and categorises it in accordance with the nature of its pronouncement and assertion. Since we have mentioned it we should describe these stages in brief. The first stage of the unity as Ghazali thinks is the utterance of لا اله الا الله simply from the lips and not by heart. The second stage is of the utterance by the tongue and confirmation by the heart. The third stage of the unity is reached when the unity is seen in diversity. This is the stage of those who are in proximity with God. The fourth stage of the unity is of the annihilation in the unity of God. At this stage one sees no other existence except that of God. This is the stage of the Siddiqis. In the proceeding lines we shall discuss Shah Waliullah and see the impact of Ghazali in his description of the unity of God.

The stages of the travel (suluk) have been discussed. When a salik has passed these stages he has two paths open to him to reach the goal. The one is the path of absorption (Jazb) and the other of suluk or travel. We have discussed suluk previously. We shall now briefly describe absorption

1. See, Al-Ghazali's conception of Tauhid by Dr. Mohd [illegible] Nabi, Burhan.

or jazb. At the outset Shah Waliullah gives a negative definition of absorption or jazb. He is of the view that absorption does not mean being lost in something. It also does not mean to do something against Sharah, neither it means to lose widsom but it means the removal of the layers of determination of the existence. We should explain it clearly by asserting that existence is perceived in the determined forms. Absorption, then, means not to take the determinants. When a salik reaches this stage he is absorbed in one existence and sees it in all things taking it transcending them all. Regarding suluk he briefly asserts that it means to create in a salik the state of love, ecstasy and piety.[23]

Having defined absorption or jazb we now come to discuss 'Tauhid-e-Afali' (unity of deeds). Shah Waliullah is of the view that if a salik is absorbed in the existence he should, then, direct his vision to the secrets of ghaib (absence). Having been lost he would come to know by his intuition that all is done by God or that there is no other doer but God. Having realised it he would understand that He is the cause of all deeds and that He is responsible for the movement of all things in the world. He will take it as the sight of puppets which seem to be moving

themselves but actually there is some one else to make them move. Similar is the case with the world. All the movements made by the things are caused by God. It does not mean that one should not believe in the chain of causes and effect as belief in it, as the Shah says, is (approved by the tradition of the prophet (Sunnat) and rejection of it would mean deviating from the Sunnat. However, the door of all deeds is God and this is the reality of the unity of deeds which is revealed in the Salik. When he is absorbed in one and the way of being absorbed in one is the remembrance of God with the tongue and by heart; when he has achieved it he becomes dependent and inculcates a belief in كل من عند الله (All is from God).[24]

Discussing it further Shah Waliullah asserts that unity of deeds does mean to consider God to be responsible for the actions like honour and dishonour, health and illness, life and death, prosperity and poverty etc. Thus all such actions are attributed to Him. But according to the Shah the minute changes in the things should not be attributed to God and should not be included in the perview of the unity of actions although he says the sufis do come across to philosophise these actions and ask the disciples to pronounce لا فاعل في الوجود الا الله meaning

there is no other doer except God in the universe. But Shah Waliullah holds that no such utterance makes the salik realize the unity of actions, meaning thereby that it is not the only way to realise it. However, whosoever realises the secret of the unity of actions considers the world of matter to be the adumberation of the world of heaven and whatever is done in the world of matter is taken by him as the result of the efforts made in the world of heaven. He explains it with an example of a wise man who by seeing a shadow moving immediately infers a body of which he is seeing the shadow. Similar is the case with the one who has known the unity of action. Thus 'tauhid-e-afali' or the unity of actions is first step in the path of suluk.[25]

Having discussed the unity of actions he now describes the unity of attributes or 'tauhid-e-sifati'. According to him unity of attributes means to see one essence (asl) running through all attributes. A salik should be able to distinguish the essence and the attributes in which it is present. He should realise by intuition and meditation that the essence is separate and above the attributes. Thus he should be able to see the reality as distinguished from the attributes though immanent yet transcendent of all these

attributes. Shah Waliullah holds that the salik, however, should not see any paradox between the reality pervading the attributes and the one outside them. The realisation of the reality as one should be made by meditation and intuition. The other way of realising it is by contemplation. ~~The other way of realising it is by contemplation.~~ Both the ways are the stages of the realization of the unity of attributes. Its realisation by contemplation is a lower stage and by meditation and intuition is a higher one. Explaining the unity of attributes the Shah asserts that it is like seeing man in all men.[26]

At the stage of the realisation of the reality of attributes the salik realises his own ego which serves him as a mirror to see the reflection of One reality in all the objects of the world. But he does not stop here. Going ahead the realises that the reality of his own ego is the one permeating all egoes and thus he reaches the source of existence. This is the stage of 'Tauhid-e-Dati', or the unity of essence. The unity of essence as discussed here is a step in the path of suluk.[27]

A salik usually in the first place realises the unity of actions, in the second place unity of attributes and in the third place the unity of essence. But there are

some who having realised the unity of actions have an access to the unity of essence. At this stage he knows the reality of realities and is abosorbed in it. He also comes to realise that it is this reality which, in a particular determinant, is enshrined in his ego or 'ana'. This realisation brings him in the state of 'baqa'. Shah Waliullah calls it the last stage of absorption or jazb and suggests to a salik to stay here for some time.[28]

All of these are the stages of Jazb. At the first stage the Salik knows the unity of actions, at the second one the unity of attributes and at the third the unity of essence. At this stage whether or not a salik believes in the unity of existence, comes to conclude that in the first stage he had blended the contingent being with the necessary being. The Shah explains it with an example of a man seeing a wild animal in his dream and when he awakes he realises that it was the animal of his own creation. It means that the contingent being is not the part of the necessary being and seeing it as the part of the necessary being is nothing more than seeing something in the dream. Thus in the second stage the salik confirms his belief in the transcendence of the reality pervading through all the objects. He also holds that immanence and transcendence

are seen due to veils and when these veils are removed, only remains the transcendence.[29]

Shah Waliullah holds that all the sufis have to go through these three stages. There may be difference in the course adopted by them. There may also be a difference of interpretation but a perusal into them would resolve them. Here again he shows his tendency of reconciliation or 'tatbiq'. To put it in brief, all the sufis pass through these stages travelling in the path of jazb or absorption. Regarding the suluk he is of the view that it is a capacity or 'malka' and a sufi should fully realise it and be bound by it. The Shah also asserts that regarding absorption 'Sharia' is silent and supporting it by Shariah is liked deriving the rules of sufism from the famous book of grammer (Kafiya) of Ibn Hajib. After passing through these stages a salik develops a relation (nisbat). It is of many kinds and will be discussed in the following pages.[30]

Imam Ghazali too discusses Tauhid Dhati, Sifati and Afali in his book 'Ahya' and it shows the complete affinity between the intuitions (Kashf) of these two great scholars.[31]

In discussing these relations (nisbats) we deem it essential that we should know the definition of relation as a sufi terminology. To explain it explicitly we should

add it in the beginning that these relations, are the acquired attributes of a salik. Defining these attributes or (Nisbats), Shah Waliullah asserts that it is a state acquired by salik by doing something repeatedly. He repeats it so many times that it becomes his attribute and the state created by the attribute is one acquired by him. In other words we can say that he likes to live in that state and loves its rapture and ecstasy. Having acquired that particular attribute he becomes its master and like the angels it becomes a part of his individuality. Explaining it we should say that as the angels have some attributes, so also does have a salik but it is acquired by his own efforts. These attributes are of many kinds. Explaining it otherwise Shah Waliullah asserts that there are many ways for a salik to present himself before God, one of them is the path of love and devotion and the other is of self mortification. It depends on the will of a salik to choose any one of them. Travelling on any path would result into the creation of an attribute. Apart from it the repetition or 'awrad' and the wazaif prescribed by the sufis also serve the same purpose. They are performed with a view to purifying the human soul or 'nafs-e-natiqa' and when the soul is purified, it acquires an attribute

in accordance with the repetition or 'wird' and the way choosen by a salik. The attribute does not only reform the soul but also becomes its own. Thus the soul becomes its master and when it reaches this stage it is said to have acquired an attribute, i.e. 'nisbat'.[32]

Coming a step ahead Shah Waliullah clearly points out that the repetitions and the wazaif are not the only ways to acquire any of these attributes. Contrary to this he holds that the companions of the prophet adopted other ways to acquire them. Out of them he mentions some ways of their acquisation. The companions, as he asserts acquired them by praying to God with all love and devotion in isolation. Besides, they always remembered death. The very idea of it did not let them fall in love with the world and its attractions. Moreover they always kept in mind the reward and punishment for their actions as promised by God. They also recited the Holy Quran and comprehended its meanings. Apart from it they repeated the heart softening traditions and heard preachings and sermons, i.e. 'waz-o-nasihat'. Thus to Shah Waliullah these were the ways adopted by the companions of the prophet to acquire these attributes.[33]

The other ways of the acquisition of the attributes

are the fear of God, Obedience to God, true dreams, honesty and faithfulness. And having passed through all these stages the mystic comes to the stage of 'fana fil baqa'.[34]

We have discussed the nature of the attributes. We find ourselves now in a position to deal with the kinds of attributes. Shah Waliullah in broad categories divides these attributes into two kinds and thereafter discusses various attributes under them. By his classification he makes the categories as (1) Attributes related to absorption or Jazb and (2) Attributes belonging to 'aurad' and 'wazaif'. Instead of discussing the former Shah Waliullah first takes up the latter.[35]

Attributes relating to Aurad (continual praise of God) and Wazaif (religious duties) :

The first of these attributes is the one relating to piety. Explaining it the Shah asserts that the attribute of piety is the one resulting from cleanliness. Having had a bath, worn clean dress and made ablution (wadhu) one feels himself in a state of relief and solace. This relief and solace is not due to his limbs but because of his soul which has a tendency to favour piety and when a man is pious, his soul has its tendency realised and the realisation makes the soul [illegible]ted and satisf[illegible] The repetition of

these acts brings him in the habit of being pious and if he does the contrary he feels restless. His heart is filled with depreciation and his soul remains dissatisfied and discontented. He remains in this unbearable state as long as he does not do in accordance with the tendency of his soul. In other words we should say that unless he becomes pious his soul is not satisfied. It means that piety rests as a tendency in his soul and he should act in accordance with it to keep it in a state of quietitude, relief and solace.[36]

Having realised the tendency of piety the traveller or 'salik' enters the queue of angels. He seems the angelic lights; he experiences divine knowledge like the angels. He visualises himself in the garb of purity. He feels himself one with the angels and when he is dead, according to Shah Waliullah, he is included among the angels on the day of judgement.[37]

Having described the attribute of piety Shah Waliullah prescribes the way of its attainment. He suggests that a traveller should go in solitude, have a bath, make ablution and pray to God. He should keep on repeating it and, besides, should engage himself in the remembrance of God by setting aside all wordly desires, ideas and obstacles.

Having done it repeatedly he should carefully study himself and see if he finds a difference between his present and previous state. And if he feels difference he should take himself to have attained the attribute of piety. The Shah assures the traveller that the recommended course must result to yield the desired goal.[38]

Shah Waliullah points out that bath i.e. 'Ghusl' and ablution are not the only base for the attainment of piety. Besides these two, wearing and using clean dress and fragrences, visiting the mosques and other holy places, remembering spiritual leaders and the angels, offering the charity (Sadqa), being pious, at the time of sleeping, making a remembrance of God for several times in the day and before sleep at night and some of the other ways are also necessary to attain it. The traveller is advised to adopt as many of them as possible. Shah Waliullah also points out the obstacles in the way of piety. He is of the view that calling bad names to the elders and angels, too much engagement in the worldly affairs, negligence of prayers and remembrance of God and being cruel to humanity and gathering unnecessary wealth - stand as foes in the way of attainment of piety. The traveller (the salik) should avoid all of them and should not let them to be

obstacles in his way.[39]

The second of these attributes is the one related to Tranquility (Sakina). The Shah names it as the attribute of relief. The other term to denote it he uses the light of servitude (Noore Taat). The Shah describes this attribute into three parts. The first one of them is the tranquility of remembrance (Halawate manajat). The traveller attains it by remembering God in his prayers, and fasts. All of these deeds embody in them a particular enjoyment which the traveller gets by performing them. Repeated performance of these acts brings him in a state in which his soul becomes capable of attending to the secrets of the world of heaven. When the traveller has attained it, he feels satisfied and contented and if he fails to remember God and to perform these acts his heart is agonised; his mind feels application and his soul is anguished. He remains in this state as long as he does not return to the performance of these acts. Returning to them he again feels satisfied and is able to attend to the secrets of the world of heaven.[40]

Having described the tranquility of remembrance the Shah comes to put forward the way of its attainment. The best way, as he suggests, is the full congnisance of the

tradition : قسمت الصلوٰة بينى و بين عبادى

(I divided Salat between Me and My serfs, i.e. mankind). The traveller should have a faith that God hears and respondes whatever is said in the prayers and remembrance. He, for instance, in response to the each line of the 'Surah fatiha' verifies and makes assertions about his prayer. In the same way God bears and responses to every assertion of his creature. The traveller should, therefore, absorb himself in His rememberance. And thus he will make his soul capable of attending to the secrets of the world of heaven.[41]

The second phase of this attribute is the inclusion of mercy (Shumule rahmat). Explaining the inclusion of mercy Shah Waliullah asserts that the soul having attained the capacity of receiving inspiration (ilham) gets a specific power. The Shah does not name it but only says that it diminishes the animal tendencies from the soul. Such a power must be angelic in nature and so it is. Even the animal tendencies become angelic. It is one of the stages of the human soul and having attained it the soul becomes pure and pious.

Shah Waliullah also speaks of the way with which it is to be achieved. In the first place the traveller

must have a staunch faith in God which should be expressed in his actions. He should devise his life in accordance with the principles God has laid down and should also submit himself with all humility and servitude before the will of God. And in the second phase the traveller should make his body and senses (Jawarih) habitual of doing the deeds which are acclaimed in the world of angels. Shah Waliullah is of the view that the deeds to be done in the world are present in the world of angels in the form of engrams. He explains it by saying that as a man wishing to make a table imagines its design and visualises it as actualised without its objective existence, the deeds, in the same way, before being actually performed remain present in the world of angels.[42]

Now the question arises as to how these actions are present in the world of angels. Shah Waliullah in answer to this question gives two reasons. The first of them is that the pious and saintly men have been doing these deeds and their actions have been held high in the world of angels. And since these actions have been favoured by God, their forms have been preserved. The other reason that he gives in its support is that the deeds of pious and divine men are preserved in the world of angels after

their death. We have elsewhere pointed out that the Shah is of the view that the divine men after their death are included among the angels and since they are included, their actions are also preserved. And thus he supports preservation of actions in the world of angels. Having given a preamble to the inclusion of Mercy the Shah comes to define it. Beginning with it he says that at the time of the remembrance of God in the mosque one man or the party during the course of remembrance receives many bestowels from the angels and when a man remembers God his heart is filled with divinity. His rememberance is traced in the world of angels and if he remembers Him with more devotion the angels and if he remembers Him with more devotion the angels receive it and when he remembers Him with still more devotion it reaches the world of heaven (haziratul quds) and there it becomes the part of the divine light present over there. The tradition of the prophet "when the angels climb with it the Merciful feels shy" is a clue towards this very fact. Thus we can say that by inclusion of Mercy the Shah means the inclusion of the rememberance in the divine light in the world of heaven (Haziratul quds).[43]

It is also noticed at the same time that as a traveller

remembers God, he is encircled by a divine light. It is not necessary that such a gift is given in the prayers. Even without it, as the Shah thinks, it can be imparted. He also holds that there are many kinds of obedience such as offering sacrifice, visiting the sick, taking rounds of 'Kaaba', running between 'Safa and Marwa' and going with the funeral procession that can bring this gift to the person performing them.

Having defined it he comes to discuss its attainment. Regarding it he says when a traveller performs the actions mentioned above his soul gradually becomes divine. It becomes capable of admitting the divinity in it and when it acquires this capability the divine light envelops his soul and thereafter the soul becomes lighted. Defining this divine light Shah Waliullah refers to this verse of the Quran from 'Sura-e-Noor' مثل نورہ کمشکوٰۃ فیہا مصباح which means the divine light is like a lamp put in an arch. The divine light illumines the soul and when it is illumined its actions become the acts of God and whatever the man performs is done by Him. It is this fact indicated in these traditions :

"I become the ears, eyes, hands, feets of the devotee and whatever he does is done by Me." And that :

"I have that proximity which is attained by the devotee by fulfilling his duties". Thus the inclusion of Mercy is attained by the pious deeds and the rememberance of God.[44]

The third phase of the attribute of relief (nisbat-e-sakina) is to admit the light of the divine names in the soul of the traveller. Shah Waliullah is of the view that the divine names whether in unity (Basit) or diversity (Murakkah) have a light akin to them. He holds that the divine names are present in the world of ideas and on the basis of his own experience he asserts that the body of these names comes from the world of ideas. Their imagination is from the world of angels and their soul is their own attributes categorised as essential essence (Dhati) such as 'Allah', 'Rahman' and eternal attributes (sifat-e-izafi) such as 'Qahar' (Mighty) 'Razzak' (subsistence giver). Each of these divine names in the world of ideas is the embodiment of a divine light.[45]

The soul admits the light of the divine names. When the traveller with all devotion remembers them, the rememberance fills his heart with a specific light and the heart desires for their pepetition. When they are repeated the light becomes brighter and more clear. It is therefore that the prophets have asked their followers

to take account of the words and their forms occurring in their prayers. The forms illumine the soul and as soon as the words are pronounced a divine light is felt by the devotee. Thus the repetition of the divine names illumines the soul. The devotee must be clear about their images as well. The sufis believing in the recitation of the names of God are of the view that the recitation of any one of the names brings the soul of the devotee in alliance with the image of the name in the world of ideas. When he gets alliance with it he visualises the light therein and unites his soul with it. Thus his soul is enveloped by the light of the divine name he repeatedly recites. Similar is the case with the prayer and obedience. Their repeated performance reveals to him the divine light akin to them and it becomes the element of the soul of the devotee. Thus at this stage i.e., when the divine light becomes the element of human soul the devotee attains the attribute of relief (nisbate Sakina) and becomes the source of bringing the power of God in the world of soul and of matter.[46]

This attribute can be attained by remembering the name 'Allah', for thousand times. At the time of

remembrance the devotee must be pious and pure of all thoughts other than that of God. The Shah is confirmed about the fact that the repeated and regular practice of remembring the name of 'Allah' with its right pronounciation will help the devotee to attain this attribute. During the course of the remembrance he should also attend to the light of the word of 'Allah'. It can also be attained by offering the prayers (Salat) to God. To attain it by this way the devotee must shorten his prayers but increase the number of 'rakats'. After every two rakats the ablution is necessary. He, by the regular practice, will however attain the attribute.[47]

Shah Waliullah wants that those sufis who do not believe in offering prayer (Salat) are categorically wrong. Prayer is one of the ways of the attainment of this attribute. Those who deny its necessity are not aware of the validity of remembrance. The attribute of relief (nisbate sakina) can be achieved either through the angels or through the images of the deeds in the world of ideas or through the divine light of the divine names. Each of the sources is equally important and beneficial and all of them are included in obedience. Some of the obediences have more of the images and others more of the divine

lights of the divine names. The traveller can however choose any one of the means to attain the attribute of relief.

In its conclusion the Shah points out that at the day of Judgement there will be no distinction between the majzoob,[1] and Ghairmajzub. He is of the view that a majzub utters heresy just for its sake and does not make it a source for the attainment of any other thing. On the day of Judgement the criterion of distinction in the devotees will be the attribute of relief. The Shah, in the end deplores that the people are away from this attribute feeling that it interfers with their work but they do not know that the prophet and his companions had attained this attribute. Thus to Shah Waliullah the attribute of relief is very important as a source of forgiveness (maghfirat).[48]

Having described the attribute 'Sakina' we now come to discuss the attribute concerning 'Owaisia'. This attribute of Owaisia is in between the attribute of Taharat and attribute of Sakina. Each of the actions and states has its own tendency and there is a great difference

---

1. Majzub is a sufi who is overpowered by his state (Jazb) he does not remain in his normal condition.

between tendencies of the bodily actions and that of the spiritual states. The travellers transcending themselves from the world of matter into the world of heaven make their souls soar high and it is therefore these souls are in proximity with other souls of higher degree. The proximity is possible only when they have got rid of the attachement with the worldly desire and impious ideas. Having attained this proximity the souls are absorbed in the states of the world of heaven and then they became eternal. With a view to explain it the Shah gives the example of a balloon which even after being in water is not drowned. Similar is the case with the soul which has attained proximity and soared into the higher spiritual state. The referred proximity may either be with the souls of the angels, of the prophets or of the sufis. That is yet another question to be answered.

Much of it depends on the devotee himself. He will have proximity of whomsoever he is attached with. The Shah explains it saying that sometimes it so happens that a salik due to his love, attachment, contemplation or natural inclination gets proximity with the soul of a particular sufis. To have obtained this proximity is the Owaisia concern and when it is attained, the traveller

becomes aware of the secrets of the world. He has the knowledge of God and His four attributes namely, cognizance (Ibda - It is brining into existence of anything from non-existence), or creation (Khalqa). It is to bring into existence of anything through Causation), tadbir, and tadalli. The traveller with the help of this attribute also knows the decisions taken about the world in 'haziratul quds'- the world of heaven. Shah Waliullah here writes about his own experience. He says when he attended to the world of souls he saw the souls of angels such as of Jibrail and Michael and also met the souls of some sufis coloured in angelic piety. The Shah is of the view that this attribute is particularly attained by the prophets and it was with the help of this attribute that they had the knowledge of the world of heaven and of God as well. All that is about 'Malae Aala' and at this stage the attribute is attained with the angels of higher kind like that of Gibrail and Michael etc.[49]

Shah Waliullah writing about his own experience asserts that in the world of souls he also saw the 'malae safil' - angels of lower kind - and the souls of sufis. Some of the travellers attained the Owaisia attribute with the souls of malae safil and having attained they see these

angels in dreams and have the knowledge of the works done by them. Their souls are absorbed in them. Some of the travellers attain Owaisia attribute with the souls of the sufis. They see them in the dreams and are absorbed in them. Those having attained the Owaisia attribute with the angels either of higher kind or lower kind experience a similar state but those annihilated in the sufism (fana fil sheikh) experience different states. However, some of the common ones are tne love with the soul of a particular sufi giving respect to his successors, going to his grave and offering 'sadaqa'.[50]

Having attained this attribute the Salik sees that soul in dream to whom he is concerned with, may it be a prophetic, angelic or sufi soul. He is so very much attached with it that he takes all the deeds done by him the deeds of that soul. In all the difficulties he seeks its help and when solved he takes them solved by the concerned soul. Due to the proximity or attachment the concerned soul becomes the element of his soul and he thinks nothing other than that soul. He visualises different secrets about the soul in the state of awaking and dreams. Shah Waliullah is of the view that there was a time when the atmosphere was dotted with the souls of the saints and many people

attained the Owaisia attribute with them. This attribute is not acquired but it is God gifted attribute. In the discussion of this attribute Shah Waliullah, again, speaks of the world of ideas. We have mentioned it elsewhere as well. The Shah is of the view that whatever is present in this world has its form in the world of ideas and each one of the objects is attracted towards its form. Regarding prophet Muhammad he here asserts that before his coming to this world his form was present in the world of ideas and when he came to the world, his form was concealed.[51]

After prophet Muhammad, as Shah Waliullah holds, Ali was the first to have attained this attribute. It is therefore that all the sufis belonging to any order established a relation with him. Shah Waliullah himself admits that any such assertion cannot be historically justified. But even after that Ali is the next to the Prophet for all the sufi orders except Naqshbandi order. After him comes Abdul Qadir Jilani who also is said to have attained this attribute. The sufis of the day to attain this attribute seek proximity either with the prophet, Ali or Abdul Qadir Jilani. In addition to this, many of the sufis have attained this attribute with the souls of all sufis. In such a situation they see their

attention imaged in different forms. But the situation is temporary for it is created by immediate causes like the love of the sufis. After the lapse of time his love to many is extinguished and to one is increased. Thereafter his attention is visualised in a particular form. Writing about his own experience the Shah describes the outcome of the attention to a particular soul. He is of the view that the effect of the attention to a particular soul diminishes the power of the animal tendencies and they adopt the colour of the divine tendencies. Explaining it he asserts that after some time the physicality around his soul is completely removed and it becomes the abstract in totality. And at that time when it is attended to the abstracta separated from the physicality (Nasma) affects the attending soul of the sufi, and since it is divine it makes the other divine as well. To explain it more explicitly the Shah gives the two examples. It is like the sun which removes proximity from the water or the attending soul is like a tank surrounded by the sun and when it is surrounded it glares all alike the sun. In the same way the divine abstracta removes animality (bahimiyat) from the attending souls and surrounds it with all its divinity around.[52]

In his conclusion of Owaisia attribute, Shah Waliullah speaks of the ways of contemplation (musrqha). To him there are two ways. The first of them is that the traveller attending to a soul should think of the state of his own soul after his death. At this stage he should visualise all the possible states of his soul. The attention is to be paid in the manner as the height of the sun is measured by the instrument or as the face is seen in the mirror. The other way of the attention is to visit the grave of a particular sufi. There he should attend to his soul. It will be revealed to him and he will have the knowledge of all its states. Here again he asserts that the prophets were sent by God. They had their attributes with the angels assigned with different duties in the world. The prophets had the knowledge of all things. They need not know anything in the world. They were told all about it by God with the help of revelation. Thus their knowledge was complete. In the end he asserts that the believers of Wahdatul Wujud who try to understand the prophets in the context of their philosophy are actually not aware of the concept of prophethood.[53]

Having described the attributes of a salik we should add a word to make it more evident. The Owaisia attribute

is the proximity with the souls be it a proximity with the prophetic, angelic or sufi souls. It is, as the Shah says, an attribute resting between the attribute of piety and the attribute of relief. How far the proximity is possible is not a question for our discussion as it is a matter of sufi experience and a sufi experience cannot objectively be verified. He however, very philosophically explains it and describes it as one of the important attributes of a salik.

We have so far been discussing the attributes concerning to awrad wa wazaif of a salik (traveller). At the outset we have mentioned that there are some kinds of attributes concerning to the realm of 'jazb' (absorption). We now come to describe these attributes.

The first one of these attributes is concerned to memory and so is named as the 'attribute of memory'. Shah Waliullah before discussing it contends that when we see something or want to know about it we form its image in our mind. The knowledge of the thing is, as a matter of fact, the knowledge of its image in our mind. And having attained its knowledge we completely forget its image present in our mind. Explaining it more explicitly he gives two examples. He is of the view that it is like seeing something

through glass. When we see something through glass we become unaware or rather unconscious of the glasses and we take it as being perceived directly by the eyes. The other example that he offers is of some one seeing the shade of tree in the water. When he is lost in seeing it he forgets the agency of water in which it is seen. Similar is the case with the image of a thing in the mind. Though it helps in the acquisition of the knowledge of the thing yet it is completely forgotten when the thing is known. The Shah means to suggest that although the agencies like the glasses, the water and the image are not taken into account yet they do exist and drawing them to oblivion does not make them cease their existence. Regarding the acquisition of the knowledge through images there exists a difference of opinion between the scholars. The Shah points out that the old scholars think that the human soul becomes one with the thing to be known and the modern ones are of the opinion that before knowing something its image is formed and the image formed and the thing known are one and the same. The Shah belongs to the second category of scholars and shares their opinion. Now there are two ways in which something is known. There are the states which the acquisition of knowledge passes through.

In the first place the thing is known through its image and the image loses its identity into object. It is the knowledge of the object. In the second place the image is known through the thing and the thing loses its identity. It is the knowledge of the knowledge (ilmulilm). The latter state is more important for having reached it one can understand the former one as well. Thus the knowledge of the objects, be they abstract or special, can be acquired in those ways.[54]

Having spoken about the acquisition of the knowledge of the objects the Shah comes to the knowledge of God. He is of the view that the divine light is seen in the objective forms but to visualise them the traveller should detach himself from the worldly desires, and since the complete detachment is obtained in the sleep, he sees the divine light in objective form in his dream. But it is not necessary. He can see these forms even in the state of consciousness provided his soul is segregated. When he sees the divine light in the objective form he resolves to obtain its knowledge. Now there comes a question as to why the divine light projects itself in forms. Explaining it the Shah asserts that man has two powers namely the power of imagination (mutakhyyala) and the power of fancy

(wahima). The power of imagination presents the abstract objects in bodies for instance the anger (ghazab) and ferocity are seen in the embodiment of a wild animal and greed and temptation is visualised in the body of crow. The power of fancy removes the colours and shapes from the objects and presents them in their meaning. Regarding the function of this power the Shah writes that it helps in recollection. We, for example, had seen a person in the past and wishing to recall him in the present we see his form which is general and can be applied to many other persons but we keep on recollecting until we recall the form of the person. Now it is a particular one and cannot be applied to any other than him. Thus the imagination gives objectivity to the meanings and the fancy gives meaning to the objects. In this way the divine light reveals itself before the salik in different projections. But the Shah also informs that revealing of the light in projections is not necessary. However, he is of the view that the knowledge of God is also gained with the help of the images formed in the mind before the acquisition of knowledge.[55]

Having discussed it he now comes to the attribute of memory. The Shah describes that having established the

attribute with the unknown or untraced the salik carefully attends to it and in course of his attention he becomes aware of the reality of the unknown or untraced (benishani) as realised by his own mind. He realises it either with the help of the fancy or the imagination. The fancy precedes the reality in a meaningful form and the imagination realises it in the objective form. Any such realisation is taken by a sufi as a divine light and having realised it he preserves it and attends to it. The attribute concerning memory in sufism was popularised by Khwaja Naqshband and thereafter reestablished by Obaidullah Ahrar.

After Obaidullah Ahrar this attribute was not practised for long. During this time the sufis knew the attribute of memory but forgot the state of the 'untraced'. They only realised God of their faith taught by the religion to the common man but could not reach the abstracts. The Shah here points out that there are two aspects of this attribute. The one is related to the realisation of the reality by the senses (nasma) and the other is the realisation of the untraced or the abstracts by the soul. The sufis of the time remained at the lower stage. They could not be absorbed (jazb) in the unknowable and untraceable which is a higher stage aimed at by this

attribute. The former is the external aspect and the latter is the inner one.[56]

Describing some of the features of this attribute the Shah holds that the one who attains this attribute becomes aware of the existence of eternity and realises the unknowable and untraceable. It is the dignity of the unknown and the untraced which confirms his belief in the existence of eternity. The salik who attains it acquires a great will power and helps others in its acquisition. The attribute also helps him to know the secrets of the other persons by his meditation and contemplation.

In discussing this attribute the Shah very systematically presents his theory of knowledge which we have discussed in detail in his epistemology.

Having dealt with the attribute of memory Shah Waliullah comes to discuss the attribute of the unity. With a view to explaining it he holds that A, B and C are persons. Enquiring into the fact of individuality we come to infer that all of them possess the common and essential quality of humanity which groups them as human beings. But contrary to this we also observe that all these individuals even after being human beings are individuals on the basis of their individuality which consists of

their individual qualities. It is evident that these individual qualities do not make them man. For it, as he contends, they were to make them man, there would have been no difference between them to distinguish them as individuals. It goes to prove that none of the individual qualities is common and essential quality of man. There should, then, be a common and essential quality to make them men and it is, as we have mentioned, humanity. Shah Waliullah puts forward yet another reason for their not being common and essential qualities. To him it is categorically wrong that something being antonymous should, at the same time, be synonymous to something. The antonyms exist apart and can in no case be synonymous. Here he is quite logical and rational. There comes an important question whether their individual qualities are quite apart from the common and essential quality of humanity. The answer to this question is negative. We mean to say that the individual qualities even after being separated from the humanity do have some kind of concern with it. We need not substantiate it with any strong contention except that we should assert that there is a relation between them as they are present in man. Their being in man is a sufficient proof of their being the

qualities of man. Thus Shah Waliullah contends that inspite of the separation they are related with humanness. He explains it by saying that for instance one is a black man and the other is white. In the former case we should say that the humanness has taken the form of black man and in other case the quality of humanness has assumed the form of a whiteman. Thus the individual qualities, as he considers, are the externalities or forms in which the essential or the actual is embodied.[57]

In order to explain the relation between the individual qualities and common qualities of a man Shah Waliullah chooses an example from the field of science. He rightly advocates that if we put a jar on an oven to boil the water we shall experience that the water after heating up will become steam and thereafter being cold will become water again. How does this change occur ? Shah Waliullah explains it saying that there is a form of body which exerts upon things to make them what they are. It is because of this form that the matter could assume different forms like those of water and air. He advocates that usually air and water are not taken as distinguished into their form and body. But actually speaking they have their forms and bodies. There is no doubt that things are seen

in bodies and the bodies, therefore, cannot be separated from the things. Thus there is a relation between the body and the thing although, as we know, they are distinguished from one another. It is explained that the body and thing are related. It is, then, indispensable that this relation should have a term and the term, as presented by Shah Waliullah, is 'Zahur' (manifestation). He explains it with the example of casting different things from wax. The wax is caste in different forms and shapes. Apparently all these forms caste with wax are different things but in reality they are wax. In addition to this all these things have assumed the forms present in the mind of their maker. Thus all these things may either be taken as a manifestation of wax in different forms or the manifestation of the forms present in the maker's mind. Similar is the case with other things of the world. Though the things in the world are different from one another, but they are the manifestation of the forms present in the mind of the almighty God. Things being different in their individual qualities are the manifestation of the one - the common and the essential quality. In other words the common or the essential assumes different forms and they being different in forms have individual qualities

which are related with the common and the essential in respect of manifestation, and that common and essential in respect of manifestation, and that common and essential in the animals, for example, is animality which with the difference of form is manifested and the forms are distinguished on the basis of individual qualities.[58]

To describe it in brief Shah Waliullah envisages a hierarchical order of the universe. He explains it as A is a man. Rationality is his essential quality and the same is present in all men. Thus rationality is the category. And 'jins' (sex) is the animality which in its denotation includes all animals including man. Higher than the animality in denotation is the 'jins-e-aali' which includes all the objects including vegetation. Higher to this is 'arz' (attribute) which includes animate and inanimate objects in its denotation. On the top of this hierarchy is the 'Johar' (substance). The scholars, as Shah Waliullah says, comprehended this hierarchy and advocated it as well but could not understand and explain the relation between the substance and attributes. But the sufis, as he pointed out, did understand it an-d came to conclude that there is a reality that establishes a relation between them and that reality is the unity

(Wahdaniyat) also named as 'existence' or 'wujud'. The existence is an indeterminate reality and as the Shah points out, there is no difference in the existence in its determinate or indeterminate form. In the same way there is a hierarchy in the world. All the objects are bound in that hierarchy. The objects like the trees, animals, minerals, clothes etc., are distinguished from each other on two grounds namely their form and their individual qualities. The former distinguishes one kind from the other and the latter distinguishes one individual object from the other. However, in the light of the above discussion we come to the conclusion that the form is different from the object and it is the form which determines and gives the individual qualities to the object. We now divide the objects into many species and each of the species has a form to distinguish it from the other. Thus there are as many forms as species and higher than these forms are the elements and skies (anasir wa aflak). These elements and skies also have a form and that form is the form of body which has also been named as 'the gross matter' or 'mabdae ula' and the same is known as principal cause (illat-e-failya). This form of body is related to existence and in this way the whole of the universe is

bound in a hierarchy. The relation between the existence and its determinates is explained by Shah Waliullah by these examples. The existence is like the black points and the determinates are like the letters. He gives this example as the letters are essentially the different forms of the same black points or in other words the black points are the essence of the letters. The existence may be taken as a unity from which all the numbers are derived. The numbers, then, are essentially in the unity. The unity and diversity are explained by the example of a river. The river is one constituted of many waves. They even after being in diversity are present in unity, i.e. in one, the river.[59]

The above discussion tends to prove that there are two common things in the objects of the world. The first is the existence and second is the form. It is evident that there must be a relation between the existence and the form so that the objects may be created or made. Existence in its pure form depends on nothing. And as a matter of fact it is existence only because it is independent. The existence manifests itself in many forms and each of these forms has its own qualities. It should clearly be understood that the existence does not manifest itself in all the

forms at one and the same time. For its manifestation it takes one form and thereafter from that form the other form comes into existence and thus the chain of forms goes on. But the existence remains the same. Let us say, in other words, the unity is not affected by multiplicity. Having described it the Shah speaks of the two aspects of existence namely the external or apparent aspect and the internal or the real aspect. Explaining these aspects he says that a mathematician at the time of doing different sums thinks of the numbers. It is obvious that these numbers do not exist in his mind before it, and it is he who brings them to existence. But other than this he can do nothing, meaning thereby, he cannot change the qualities of these numbers. He, for example, cannot make the odds even or otherwise. Thus the external aspect of the existence is the bringing of the numbers into existence in the mind and the internal one consists of the natural order of the numbers and their qualities like oddness or evenness.[60]

Having seen the chain of forms and the manifestation of existence one comes to infer that these forms as they have their own qualities must have been pre-arranged in this order by some one which is prior and supreme to them. It is evident from the fact that the qualities of the forms

or bodies cannot be changed. The example of the mathematician regarding his bringing the numbers into existence from non-existence explains the external aspect of the existence and also advocates the pre-arrangement of the qualities of the forms. Apart from it there is something known as existence in which both the aspects are present.

Now comes the question as to what is the reality of such terms known as existence 'unity','hast','Kharij', 'ain' etc. some of the scholars took it, as God named it, as unconditional reality and unity. But to Shah Waliullah they are wrong. To him it is a stage of existence which is one of the phases of real existence. This phase of existence is the most wide one and is immanent in all the objects of the world. In spite of its immanence in the objects it is not one with them but transcends them all. This existence is also known as the universal soul. As the existence is distinguished from the objects, in the same way God is distinguished from the existence. Let us recall it that the Shah has already called it one of the phases of existence. It categorically suggests that there are other phases of existence as well and each of them is at a higher stage. The existence is related to the substance and the attribute and thus the things are created. God

exerts upon existence through Ibda - creation out of nothing -- It means that He creates existence out of nothing or non-existence. Creation in this way is 'Ibda' and creation from matter is 'Khalq'. Both of them are attributes of God but the former is expressed in the creation of existence and latter in the creation of the world of material objects.[61]

The relation between the existence or universal soul and God is that of Ibda. God is the source or 'Mabda' and existence is created or 'mabda'. As the reason cannot comprehend the relation between the two it is therefore that they are often taken as one and the same or sometimes the existence is considered as the manifestation of God. The Shah blames neither of them for he asserts that the reason is helpless to understand the relation. He, however, is of the view that it is an important problem of sufism and should undoubtedly be solved, for without solving it we cannot understand many other problems of sufism. Thus it is evident that the pondered unity between the existence and God is not real.

The existence or the universal soul is the essence ('ain) of the objects of the world, therefore, it is often explained by the analogy of ocean and its waves. But the

stages from the existent or universal soul to the Wajibul Wujud - necessary existence cannot be explained by any such analogy as their state cannot be understood with the help of reason. The only thing about them we know is that they are related with God through 'Ibda' and in addition to this we know the reality of existence which we call 'Maloomul aniyat - Majbulul Kayfiyat'. Those lost in the unity reach the existence, the universal soul and consider it as all in all or the unity - Shah Waliullah seems to suggest that it is a lower stage of the unity. The higher one is yet to be reached. We assert it, as he says, that the people with greater vision do reach the reality and comprehend it with the help of their intuition. Regarding relation of the attribute of existence with God Shah Waliullah is of the opinion that no attribute can be established except that of 'Idea' to which he calls the mother of attributes (Ummul nisbat).[62]

The relation of 'ibda' is explained with the example of the number of four (4). The figure of four can be conceived in more than one way. In the first place the figure can be conceived as four in a particular state. It means that we can conceive it as the stage at which it is established. In the second place it can be understood as

the sum of two and two. Now the four at one stage is the individual four and the four at the other stage is total of the pair of twos. It is evident that the pair of twos and the four are related with each other but they are not one and at the same. In the third place the individual four is conceived with its quality - which makes it the individual figures and thus the individual quality is its essence. In the fourth place we shall conceive the quality of four in four itself and thus the four is necessary to embody the quality of four. In this way each of them is necessary for the existence of one another. We shall in this regard consider the four as the creator 'mabda' or the source of creation and the two pairs as 'mabde' or created.

Taking the figure of four as the whole and not considering any paradox we shall come to conclude that the even of two is the creation of the four and being so they are related with each other. In the same way the relation between the universal soul or the existence and God can be conceived in many dimensions. It is the difference of the point of view. The followers of Wahdatul Wujud are not wrong to consider the existence or the universal soul as the unity and those believing in the transcendence of God are also right to consider the unity constituted of the different stages of

existence. To put it in brief, in accordance with the point of view the relation of the two can be named as any one of the attributes. Shah Waliullah prefers to call it as the attribute of 'Ibda'.[63]

Having described the nature of the relation between the universal soul - nafse kulliyah - and the world and between the universal soul and God, the Shah comes to an important point revealed from the fact that the traveller should not mistake one kind of relation with the other meaning thereby that the relation between the universal soul and the world should by no means be applied to the universal soul and ~~the world~~ God for it will be like seeing things with coloured glasses. As we know that seeing with coloured glasses does not give the vision of the real object but it is seen in the colour of the glasses. The traveller should be conscious of the fact and refrain himself from it. At this stage the traveller is annihilated in the state i.e. 'fana fil hal'. If the traveller sees (mushahida) the universal soul with the inner vision he sees it as unity and he sees it with extra-ordinary transcendental vision he sees God as unity. And if he visualises with the two visions he sees nothing but one, that is to say, that the diversity disappears and there remains no other

existence except that of God. It, however, depends on the capacity of the traveller and the same is stated in the Holy Quran :

ولكل وجهة هو موليها فاستبقوا الخيرات

(Each one does in accordance with his capacity. One should try to be more virtuous).

Shah Waliullah explains it with the example of human beings. Each one of them has his own qualities and capacities and his status is determined in accordance with them. Those having higher qualities reach the state of annihilation and subsistence and those having lower qualities and capacities remain at lower stages.[64]

Having described it he now comes to explain the attribute of unity (of God) (Tauhid). To begin with it he says that there are persons who have the capacity of understanding the unity of existence. They are very much influenced by it and see it in every thing and since they see it in every thing they take it as all in all or the unity of existence. Thus the unity of existence becomes the highest stage of their knowledge and in no case they transcend it. Contrary to this they justify every thing on the basis of their knowledge of this stage. Although they sometimes ponder over the stages of existence but due to their tendency and capacity they return to the same

stage. In the beginning of his course a traveller realises the existence in the world. Having seen it in all the objects he obtains its knowledge and gets the capacity or 'malka' to understand it. According to Shah Waliullah there are two stages of this capacity. At the first stage the existence is realised by the senses 'nasma'. To this he calls the external aspect of the knowledge of existence. At the second stage the traveller realises the qualities of existence and is influenced by them. This realisation comes to him with the help of a power lying beyond the senses. To this he calls the internal aspect of the knowledge of existence.[65]

He explains it with the example of a man who having heard a great deal about the unity of existence from the sufis is convinced of the fact that every object is the manifestation of the existence. On pondering over it again and again he develops a thorough understanding of this fact but he does not realize it by his intuition. It means that he has acquired the knowledge but has not experienced it. He, as Shah Waliullah says, can be understood as a flooded tank with the water of rain without having a capacity seething from the ground. Thus the one who has the knowledge of the unity of existence (tauhide wujudi) is at the stage

of the unity by knowledge (tauhide Ilmi). And the one who realises or experiences the existence from the capacity concealed in his soul is at the stage of unity by state - Tauhide Hali. Shah Waliullah does not favour the unity by knowledge for it provokes discussion and leads to deviation. Contrary to this he very strongly favours the unity by state.

The attribute of unity is very philosophically explained by Shah Waliullah. He very logically justifies it by giving a hierarchy. It is but indispensable that every hierarchy has something on the top and that something on the top is on the one hand the basis of every thing and commanding authority on the other. The believers of Wahdatul Wujud take the existence as the unity and identify it with God but Shah Waliullah believes in the stages of existence and the source, as he thinks, transcends them all. He does not defy the immanence but more vehemently advocates the transcendence. Thus unity to him is the source that transcends all. A sufi as he thinks, has to realise it and is to develop a concern with it. Putting it in brief, the reality above the existence is the unity.[66]

Having explained the attribute of unity the Shah comes to deal with the attribute concerning to ecstasy. In

order to explain it he, at the outset, discusses the nature of soul and holds that the soul by its nature has a capacity to admit the colour of the conditions which it faces. It, for example, admits the effect of the state of anger, hate, love etc. It is also natural in the case of the human soul that if it admits one sort of effect, its opposite vanishes. The conditions may either be angelic or beastly. The spiritual states of human soul are due to these conditions and these conditions have their own causes. The traveller must know the causes which create angelic or divine conditions. And when he will have known them, anything related to them or inspiring that state, howsoever small it may be, will have a great effect on the soul of the traveller. It means that his soul becomes extraordinarily sensitive. But it should also be taken into account that every soul is not equally sensitive. As a matter of fact some of them have no power of sensivity at all. Travellers having souls like this have to love some one in the world. The love of man makes them aware of the state of love. The presence of the beloved is a source of relief for them and separation inflicts upon them an agony and anguish. The lover is pleased to see the movements of his beloved. In

short, the beloved is the source of all his pleasure, happiness, merriments, sorrows, griefs and laments. Being aware of the state of love the traveller then turns from love of man to love of God.[67]

The traveller who begins his course with the love of man should spend some of his time in listening to music as it has a great effect and produces the state of ecstasy and rapture. The lyrics and their music in the company of instruments bring him into the state of ecstasy and he is lost therein. The repetition of the state creates in the soul of the traveller a capacity to admit the effect of the state, its conditions and its causes. The way of getting ecstasy described in the preceding passage is recommended by the sufi but the staunch followers of shariah do not approve of it. They, contrary to this, emphasise on listening to the preachings and recitations of the Holy Quran, reading the traditions creating rapture and absorbing in the course of worship. To them it is the right path to achieve the state of ecstasy. Shah Waliullah is of the view that the traveller may reach the state abruptly as well. Seeing of the river with its waves and whirls, observing the bloom of the flowers and reading a scholarly writing may also lead to this state.

Concluding it Shah Waliullah speaks of its two aspects namely the external aspect and the internal aspect. The external aspect is a lower stage and in it the traveller feels rapture and ecstasy with his senses - 'namsa' alone. That is to say that the ecstasy appeals to his senses only. The internal aspect is a higher stage. The traveller reaches it with the help of the soul - 'latifae mujarridah'. In it the soul gets one gnosis after the other. It annihilates first in one name of God and thereafter in another. Khawaja Naqshband names this internal aspect of ecstasy as 'qabz' (contraction) or 'bast' (expansion). The sufis who have attained this attribute are lost in music (Sama) and ecstasy (wajd) and those who reach the state of annihilation (fana) and subsistence (Baqa) have the knowledge of the secrets of the world and hereafter.[68]

We have described the attribute of ecstasy and having dealt with it we come to the attribute of love. Love, as we know, is very important in the progress of sufism. It will not be wrong to say that it is its basis. To substantiate our contention let us assert that it is actually the love which inspires the traveller to get into the path of the unity with God. It is therefore that all

the sufis and the scholars of sufism have been emphasising on the importance of love in the achievement of the sufi goals. Shah Waliullah like others has also acknowledged it and described it as one of the important attributes. Psychologically speaking love is a feeling and feeling depends on attachment. It is, then, indispensible. Whosoever desires to awaken the feeling of love he should be attached to object which he is in love with. Shah Waliullah very psychologically suggests that the traveller should repeatedly remember the Almighty and should also bear in mind His gifts and boons. The repetition of His name will awake in him the feeling of love and when it is awakened he will become impatient, and restless. Such a state is a proof of his attachment which certainly is love.

Shah Waliullah is of the view that a traveller should think to have attained the attribute of love when his soul is supplicated with the fire of love. Like many other attributes it also has two aspects namely the external aspect and tne internal aspect. The external aspect of the attribute of love is the creation of the state of love in the senses (nasma) like other states. We have mentioned it earlier that the Shah holds that the senses admit the effect of the states of the soul. The internal aspect of

this attribute is related to the soul. It is a stage reached by the soul. He is of the opinion that it is created in man even before the creation of the soul. We think that the Shah here means that love of God is in the nature of man. The soul has to realise it.[69]

Defining the original love Shah Waliullah explains that every object of the world has a tendency which can be called its own characteristic. He gives the example of soil, water, air and fire. Going downwards is the characteristic of soil and water and contrary to this is the characteristic of air and fire. Similar is the case with other objects. He is also of the view that every object is inclined towards the thing it is related and all of them come into existence from one source. They, therefore, inspire to it. The inspiration is their natural inclination present in their very essence. We know that the diversity comes from the unity and thus the diversity is inclined towards the unity. In the same way the existence of which all the objects are manifestation has a relation with the objects and otherwise as well. This relation is not a created one but natural. And this natural relation or inclination is the essential love.

The state of love as pointed out in the first place

rests in the senses (nasma) and the original love is mixed with it. This state becomes the body and the essential or original love serves as its soul. To him, a sufi at this stage, is unable to separate the two and understand them as one. It is because of this misunderstanding that; as Shah Waliullah thinks, the sufis differ among themselves on the issue. One group of the sufis holds that restlessness and eagerness ceased to exist for a sufi who attains union (wisal) with beloved. The other group holds that the state of eagerness and restlessness continue and shall remain continue even in the life hereafter. According to Shah Waliullah the former takes into account the state of love awakened in the senses which after being united should be satisfied and if remains dissatisfied is taken to be in the torment. The latter group takes into account the original love which is never extinguished and the lover feels its anguish and severity but does not consider it as torment.[70]

He here points out two important facts regarding the completion of the attribute of love. For him both the things namely the state of love awakened in the senses and the original love are necessary. The original love may be suppressed due to many reasons and one of them is

the traveller's observation of the existence in all things of the world. He then takes it all in all and the original love of God is hereby suppressed. Contrary to this the creation or awakening of the state of love is also essential and it is possible by the detachment from the wordly desires. The object of love for a sufi should not be anything other than God. We have discussed different attributes concerning to various states of a salik. We consider it necessary to point out that it is not by any way indispensable that a sufi should have attained only one attribute. The attainment of the one often results into the achievement of the other with a difference that the one is the fruit of his own efforts and the other being its result is achieved by him as a consequence. To understand it clearly we can say that a sufi having attained the attribute of love would consequently achieve the attribute of piety. And the same is the case if it is otherwise. It is evident, then, that one attribute follows the other. Now it so happens that the sufi regards attributes as gift of God which he does not strive for. He should also make it clear that the attainment of these attributes categorically depends on the natural inclination of a sufi.

# C H A P T E R - V

## SHAH WALIULLAH'S ETHICS

Dealing with the ethics of Shah Waliullah it should be borne in mind that his ethics is rooted in his metaphysics. Surveying the history of Muslim philosophy in particular and philosophy in general we come to conclude that ethics of the most important philosophers is steeped in their metaphysics. We may make here many references but let us limit ourselves to some of the examples so that our contention may be supported. Plato builds his ethical philosophy on the basis of his metaphysical theory of ideas. Aristotle erects the edifice of his ethics on the basis of his theory of form and matter which obviously is his metaphysics. Similar is the case with the theosophists like St. Augustine, Anselm and Aquinas whose ethics is based on their metaphysics. Apart from it, all the philosophers propounding idealism have based their ethics on metaphysics. Even the Pantheist Philosophers like Spinoza could not separate ethics from metaphysics. It is clear, then, that ethics of the ancient, medieval and modern philosophers is tinched with metaphysics.[1]

The ethics of Muslim philosophers, as we have said, is rooted in their metaphysics. In our opinion there are two reasons for this. The one is minor and the other is major. The major one is the influence of the Greek philosophers on the Muslim philosophers. We need not argue much to support the assertion. It will suffice to say that Alkindi, Alfarabi, Ibn Sina, Ibn Maskeweih, Ghazali and Ibn Rushd studied Greek philosophy very perusively. The earlier ones were influenced with the Greeks to the extent that they followed them in propouning their systems. But Ghazali was the only genuis who wrote a book called 'Tahafatul falasfa' (Incoherencies of the Philosophers) in which he rejected many of the notions held by Greeks for long. He, for example, refuted the correspondence theory of causation and propounded his own theory called as the sequence theory of causation which later on was also advocated by Hume. As ethics comes out of metaphysics in Greek philosophy, so it does in the Muslim philosophy. To our mind though it is reason yet a minor one, for Ghazali, whose ethics is also derived from metaphysics, was not influenced by the Greek philosophers. There is yet another reason, and it is stronger and categorical, for it is difficult to deny it and it lies in the fact that the

ethics of the Quran has its source in metaphysics. The Muslim philosophers being the followers of the Quran adopted it and based their ethics on metaphysics.[2]

We have referred to all these philosophers in order to sustain that if we find the roots of the ethics of Shah Waliullah in metaphysics, it is neither new nor unique. The Shah was a scholar of philosophy and theology and in most of the cases he had observed it and also found it in the Quran, so he does the same. It is evident, then, that dealing with his ethics we must refer to his metaphysics, otherwise it can neither be understood nor explained.[3]

It is better that we should begin his ethics with his definition of virtue and vice. We shall not be wrong to say that virtue and vice are the problems which have confronted most o. the philosophers be they the atheists or the theists. Shah Waliullah being a theist explains them in his own way. How far it is convincing depends on the comprehension of the individual who reads him.

Defining the virtue, the Shah asserts that there are two kinds of attributes (Kamalat). The first ones are natural or innate and the second ones are acquired.

In the natural attributes there are some common to all

beings whether animate or inanimate. He explains it by saying that some of the attributes of man are shared by the inanimate objects like hills etc. For example the attributes of the height of the body is present in the hill as well. He does not consider its virtue because if it is taken as virtue the hill possesses it most. It is obvious that there is no question of virtue in case of hill. Thus such attributes which he calls 'madani Kamalat' (the attributes of the inanimate) may be admirable but cannot be considered as virtue. The man possessing them does not hold any virtue. Some of these natural attributes of man are shared by vegetation. For example suitable growth, strips and freshness are present in the vegetation. He does not regard them as virtue because they are not the attributes of man alone and if they are regarded as virtue, it would mean that the flowers, as they have these attributes, also have the virtue. Some of these natural attributes of man are shared by animals as well. For instance loudness of voice, strength, sex, power to eat much and anger etc. To them he also does not think as virtue because if they are taken to be as virtue, even a donkey possesses them. There are some attributes which are the qualities of man alone.

They, for example, are high mora le, courage, good efforts etc. The reason demands that these attributes alone should be considered as virtue but to Shah Waliullah they are the partial virtues as many of these attributes are common in all the animals. Courage, for example is the outcome of anger and revenge. It is the firmness in moments of intense danger, an ability to defend himself in dangerous situation. And this attribute is common in all the strong animals. In the same way dextereousness in the industry is one of the attributes found even in the birds and they sometimes show a better one. It is then clear that all these attributes cannot be the virtues as such. They can only be regarded as partial virtues. Virtue to Shah Waliullah means an attribute which is under the control of the human soul or a desire under the control of reason.[4]

Having spoken of virtue he speaks of the kinds of actions. The actual virtue includes in its' perview two kinds of actions. The first ones are those in which the human soul is involved in the wordly affairs. Man has got potentially a tendency to do them but he does not express it unless the time calls forth or the occasion demands. He explains it with examples. The courage, for

instance, is expressed in the state of danger; eloquence when desired by someone is achieved by the study of great poets of Arabia. It is thus explained that the virtues related to the worldly sphere are called forth when they are needed, and until one feels its necessity it remains as a potential force. All these affairs are the worldly affairs and when a man dies he leaves them behind. At the time of his death if he repents for having engaged himself in these affairs, he will be deprived of the actual virtue (kamal) and if their attachment has enveloped his soul he will suffer from a loss instead of gaining a profit. The second kind of the affairs are those related to the angelic tendencies. It should be pointed out that the Shah speaks of two tendencies in man. The first ones are angelic or rational tendencies and the second ones are the animal tendencies. To the Angelic tendencies he calls 'Quwat-i-Malakiya' and the animal tendencies are called by him as 'Quwat Bahimiya'. We should bear in mind that the modern psychologists also speak of these two tendencies in man and are of the view that the rational tendencies should dominate the animal ones. Shah Waliullah also holds the same position. Stepping forward he also suggests the way by which the animality can be suppressed. The angelic or

rational tendencies should always continue to speak their desires to the animal tendencies and the latter should be made to follow them. The continuous obedience to the angelic or rational tendency will make the animal tendency habitual of its obedience and thus the animality will be suppressed. Shah Waliullah also points out that the animality does not like to follow the rationality and in the same way contrary is the case with the rationality. The desires of the rationality (malakiyat) are in conformity with the world of Angels (alame malakut) on one hand and related with the word of spirits (alame Jabarut) on the other. These desires or the second kind of affairs are the prayers. These prayers are necessary for a higher morale. It means that the attributes acquired by the prayers are the virtues in the real sense. It is therefore, that the divine expediency, through the forms in the world of angels, keeps on directing the soul. The prayers aim at training the soul. The training of the soul means that it should remain as divine (malaki). The soul in no case should let animality dominate it. Contrary to this the animality should obey it. It means that the actual virtue is the dominance of rational tendency (quwat Malakiya) over the animal tendency (Quwat Bahimiya). And it is the attribute

to be acquired by man with the help of the worship and prayer.[5]

In order to acquire the virtue the man should be attracted towards his form, i.e. angelic form and so long as he is not attracted towards it, he cannot acquire it. And when he is attracted towards his form, he obeys it and no sooner than does he acquire the capacity of being attracted towards his form he acquires the virtue, for it, then becomes like angel. The Shah explains it with the example of the iron which is attracted towards the magnet. It is in the nature of the iron to be attracted towards the magnet and so in man to be attracted towards his form. All the men of reason and insight are aware of this fact and are able to acquire these attributes (obedience of animal tendency to angelic or rational tendency - malaki Quwwat). All those who have acquired this attribute, be they the rich or the poor, have included themselves amongst the angels. Although we are aware that all the men belong to the same form of man, yet it is evident that the acquisition of the attribute of the dominance of the angelic tendency is not difficult, for the angelic tendency (malakiyat) is in the nature of man. The form demands the dominance of the angelic tendency (malaki) and if the man

is attracted towards it, he will acquire this attribute. And this attribute alone is the virtue in real sense.[6]

Having described the virtue in the real sense (Saadat), the Shah comes to speak of the difference amongst the people regarding the acquisition of the virtue. It is very much explicit as Shah Waliullah advocates, that by nature every individual is different and so there is bound to be a difference in the acquisition of the virtue simply for the reason that the individuals are born with different capacities, abilities and potentialities. The difference of abilities, and potentialities results into the difference of interest and aptitude. It is explained by some examples. The attribute of courage, for example, is not potentially common to all men. Some of the men like Castratos do not possess it, for it is not there in their nature. Others do possess it but it is very little and hence is not brought forward when the time calls forth or the occasion demands. But since the attribute of courage is potentially present in them they can be held to bring it forward. The way to be adopted would be looking at the deeds of the brave men, listening to the stories of bravery. These steps would help them to realise the potential courage present in them since birth. Those who do not possess it at all can also

acquire it by the steps described above. In this way the Shah contends that the attributes (ṣifat insaniya) can be cultivated and acquired by the man himself.[7]

The other example that the Shah offers is that of virtues or good qualities (Khulq). Some of the men do not possess it at all. In others it is present but not so very strong. But there are some who have a very strong tendency towards it and this tendency is potentially present in them since birth. These men need not acquire it and cannot be refrained from developing it, and if they are refrained from its expression they become restless. Explaining the position the Shah gives the example of sulphur. No sooner than it is brought near the fire it starts burning. Similar is the condition of the one who possesses the virtue of morale (khulq) when refrained from its expression. Such people need no guide (Imam) to lead them for its acquisition but for others who do not possess it at all or in whom it is meagre a guide is necessary. Thus these people become their guides and they enjoy the status of teacher (Sabbaq). But these people cannot eradicate the shortcomings. For this a prophet is needed. He, with the help of God, removes the shortcomings of the virtues (khulq) and presents it practically. It is therefore that in order to acquire it we have to fall back on the life of the prophet. Thus,

the Shah has the view that a virtue can be cultivated even after keeping in view the individual differences in man. The virtue, in the real sense (saadat), can also be acquired in the same way despite the individual differences of the capacity of its acquisition.[8]

Having spoken of the individual differences the Shah comes to discuss the ways by which the virtue in the real sense is acquired. To him there are two ways to acquire it. The first consists in the fact that the animality in man should completely be suppressed, rather be destroyed. It means that animality should no longer be the part of man. There are people who adopt this way. The Ishraqis and the sufi overpowered by raptures, as Shah points out, have adopted this way for the achievement of 'saadat'. The second lies in the fact that the animality should continue to exist but it should be made obedient to the angelic tendency (malakiyat). Most of the people have adopted the latter one for the attainment of the virtue. Being aware of the capacity of man, God has also sent prophets to preach the other way of its' acquisition. Explaining it the Shah gives some examples. The first one of them is of an artist who with the help of his imagination and colour scheme presents the picture of some one, and not only that, but he

also depicts the state in which that some one is. The other one is of a wailing mother whose child dies. She cries in the way that others are affected and share her grief as their own. And still another one is of a dumb man who only imitates the actions and by gestures conveys his objective. Similar is the way, as Shah points out, to make the animality (bahimiyat) servile to the angelic quality (malakiyat). It means that it should be made to admit the dominance of the angelic quality. In order to achieve it there is, no doubt, a great deal of effort is required. But it is necessary. Comparing the two the Shah asserts that the first one has its own qualities. By this way the human soul attaches itself completely with the world of spirits and a man adopting it for the acquisition of virtue is completely segregated from the worldly desires. He, if necessary, even detaches himself from the world but the religion prefers the other way because together with religion the world is also indispensable and it cannot be left behind. It is better that we should remain in the world and then get rid of the animal tendencies. Apart from it if all the persons adopt the former way there will be no one to live in the world. Thus the religion favours the latter way of the acquisition of virtue (saadat), but

does not reject the former one as well. There is another reason for it, the preference of the latter way over the former one and that there can be only few persons to adopt it, for it requires great patience, penitence and prayer which the majority is not capable of. The Shah thus explains these two ways for the attainment of the virtue and the people adopt one or the other in accordance with their capacity.[9]

In explaining the other way in which the animality is not to be destroyed but to be sublimated, the Shah offers a very psychological example. This categorically shows his insight in the psychology of man.[9]

In the above passage it has been described that there are two ways for the attainment of 'saadat' (blessedness in the real sense). It has also been pointed out that the latter one is preferred for many reasons. In the following passage we shall discuss, as Shah Waliullah has done it, as to what helps in adopting the second course. As the Shah puts it, there are many ways to pursue the course but he favours the one which creates in man four important qualities or attributes. These qualities are the result of the control and enlightment of the animality by the rationality of a man (nafse natiqa). These four qualities

are (1) Purity (taharat) (2) Humility to God (Ijz) (3) detachment from wordly desires (samahat) and (4) Justice (adalat). The man who creates these qualities in him, is in alliance with angels because the qualities themselves are of the angelic nature. We shall describe them one by one.[10]

(1) Purity (Taharat) : It is one of the four important qualities or attributes. It means that the man desiring to attain 'saadat' (blessedness) must at the first hand make himself pure by purifying the heart and cleaning the whole of the body. When a man acquires this attribute he despises its opposite 'hadas' (profanity) because in that stage he feels himself dissatisfied and restless and so long as he continues to be in the state of profanity the restlessness and dissatisfaction bind him and as soon as he becomes pure he feels satisfied and contented. It is because of this fact that purity becomes his nature and no one likes things against his nature. Shah Waliullah is of the view that only those people can attain this quality whose soul is able to obey the commands of the form from the world of forms (alam e amsal) and who have the capacity to be pure. When their potentiality of purity is realised they do not like the opposite one, always desire to keep themselves pure and in order to be pure take bath, perform

ablution, wear clean dress and use different perfumes. Having acquired this quality, the man becomes capable of seeing the angels. Apart from it, he sees good dreams in which he has the vision of gracious and sublime things. Those who are in the state opposite to purity - 'hadas' (profanity) - have in them the satanic elements. They see bad dreams, their souls are opaque and admit no divinity.[11]

(2) Humility (Ijz) : The second quality is the humility to God. It is also important in course of the attainment of virtue. It means that man should feel himself humble before God. Shah Waliullah is of the view that it can be acquired by a man in the days of prosperity. In these days he should remember the bounties and the attributes of God. Their rememberance will create in him the humility or ijz and he will feel himself as humble before God as he does before a king. The humility in him would make him realize the greatness of God. Like other spiritual states the state of humility brings him in proximity with the angels. Having realized the greatness of God he desires His gnosis.

(3) Detachment from desires (Samahat) : The third quality is the detachment from desires. It means that a man having acquired it does not engage himself in the world. It is created in man at the time when he is too much engaged in

the wordly desires. He makes all efforts to fulfil all his wishes. He enjoys to have sexual relations and luxurious life. Having reached this state he realises his potentiality of the detachment and immediately after, detaches himself from the wordly desires. He gets rid of his previous luxurious life, sexual enjoyments, anger and greed. Detachment means that the soul should not admit the influence of the animality (bahimiyat). Contrary to this it should control it completely. This quality can be acquired only by those who have the capacity for its acquisition. Those who do not possess it cannot detach themselves. Their soul becomes controlled by the animality and they continue to dwell in this state. Speaking of the difference between the two persons namely the one capable of detachment and the other not capable of it Shah Waliullah gives an example. If something costly is stolen from a house, its owner, if generous, would not bother much, and if miser, would repent over the loss for a long time. The former one is a man having the capacity of detachment and the latter is one who does not possess it. Detachment brings the soul near the divine and the opposite, greed, (hirs) takes it away from God. The detachment and the greed are used in different connotations and to each one of them a different term has been given.

Here follows the description. In respect of wealth detachment is generosity (sakhawat) and greed (hirs), in respect of sex and other biological desires detachment (Samahat) is chastity (iffat) and the opposite is unholiness (corruption), in respect of luxury and labour the former is patiences (sabr) and the latter restlessness (iztirab) and in respect of sins and forbidden things the one is piety (taqwa) and the other is sin (fujur). When the quality of detachment is acquired by man, his soul, then, does not admit any influence of the world and he consequently detaches himself from the wordly desires, he only wishes for the things held high by the wisdom and demanded by the reason which are angelic and divine in nature.[12]

(4) Justice (adalat) : The fourth and the last quality or attribute to be acquired by man is justice (adalat). It is the quality which helps man carry out the actions leading to the administration of the country and the nation. Shah Waliullah is of the view that the objectives of the administration are present in the form of engrams. The human soul has the capacity to understand and realise them but only those human beings can be aware of the will of God regarding the administration of the country and the nation who have acquired the attribute of justice (adalat). When

a country or a nation lacks the principles of administration, God sends the prophets to show to the people the right and correct path of administration. Shah Waliullah rightly remarks that the religion brings the people out of the darkness. At such a time those who help the prophet in spreading the enlightenment deserve the reward of God and those who hamper its progress deserve punishment. The helping ones are those who possess the quality of justice (adalat). Those who acquire it, are included among the angels and are in proximity with God. Their souls, when separated from the body, feel satisfied and contented. The other ones who are void of it are deprived of all these blessings.[13]

All these four attributes or qualities are essential. They lead to the second way prescribed for the attainment of blessedness (saadat). These qualities help in the attainment of the perfection in the field of knowledge and action. They raise a man to the status of angels. The one who understands their importance has a key to the secrets of the religion. To put it in brief, they are essential for building up the character.

We have discussed these qualities. Now there comes a question as to how they should be acquired. Shah Waliullah profers the answer to this question. He holds that the above

mentioned four attributes or qualities can be attained either with the help of knowledge or with the help of action. It means that there are two ways for their acquisition.[14]

The Shah first discusses the path of knowledge. He begins it, with hypothetical proposition that if the human soul develops the fear and chastity, it refrains itself from being involved in the pleasures of flesh and bones. This fear, of course, is the fear of God. A man on the very first hand should have the knowledge of God. He should believe Him to be the agent of all actions and should be convinced of His presence. Such a belief would arouse in him the fear of God and he would abstain from doing the evil deeds. God sent many prophets to give the human beings the knowledge of prophet Ibrahim. It is the knowledge which helped man remind of the enlightenments of God. It reminded the mankind of the attributes of God and revived the knowledge of His omnipotence and omniscience. The knowledge of the prophet Ibrahim helped acknowledge the greatness of God. The other one was the knowledge of prophet Moses, which brought the mankind to understand God's Plan of reward and punishment. The people were told of the blessings and punishments of God so as to keep them away from the evil.

Prophet Mohammad added to it the knowledge of the events in the grave and of the life hereafter. With the help of this the virtue and vice were explained.

Shah Waliullah is of the view that all these three types of knowledge are important and, besides, the knowledge of the commandments of God and the knowledge of the animality of the pagans (kuffar) are also essential. All these are the selected types of knowledge listed in the holy Quran.[15]

Having described the path of knowledge the Shah comes to discuss the path of action. Like the former, it also helps man in the attainment of blessedness (saadat). For its attainment a man must perform only those actions which are desirable for the soul and he should continue to perform them untill he becomes habitual of them. And when he becomes habitual, they become his qualities or attributes. Some of these actions are performed as there is a resemblence in the habit and the attribute, and others are performed as the performer is inclined to them under the compulsion of his nature. Which of them are the meritorious actions is not a question at all for a man can know them from the life of the greatmen as the Prophet. A man should perform only those actions which are held as pious. Shah Waliullah holds that each action, be it bad or good, has some causes. He

explains some of them with example. The causes of sinful actions (hadas) are the heart being full of animal desires, the heart having the ill will towards divine actions, the heart being surrounded by the curse of the angels and so on. In the same way the causes of piety are contrary to the causes of sins. Thus it is clear that a man should save himself from the causes of sinful deeds. Everyone cultivates in him the qualities which are in confirmity with his nature. He explains it with the examples (a) of a man who is angry with any of his fellow beings. Before expressing his anger he thinks of his enemy and of his abuses and also contemplates over its consequences and (b) of a woman who when weeps, also remembers the quality of the deed. But in the acquisition of the attributes or qualities he should follow the people of good taste and acquire only those qualities which can be held as pious.

We have thus described the two ways by which the attributes are to be achieved. Now we shall take up the actions held as virtue and vice.

Shah Waliullah first takes up the virtuous action and defining it he says that virtuous action is one which is performed in the obedience of angelic quality. It is performed by a man of divine inclination or by being annihi-

lated in the knowledge of God or it is action yielding reward in this life and the life hereafter or it is an action reforming the earning efforts (tadabire-nafia) which are the foundations of the human affairs, or it is an action expressive of the obedience and the source of removing the veils. Thus the good or virtuous actions ~~is~~ are defined. Having defined it he, then, takes up the bad or vicious actions. That action will be held as sin which is either performed in the obedience of the devil or which yields punishment in this life and the life hereafter, or the action which destroys the earning efforts (tadabir nafia) or is hostile to them or the action which strengthens the veils between man and God. Man knows the good or virtuous actions infinitively. Explaining it he holds that as the people collectively agree on the profitibility of the earning efforts, in the same way the benefits of a good action are also confirmed and established by the heart. The heart is capable of understanding them as it is, illumined with the divine light which is in its nature. Explaining it he gives the example of the bee which is aware of the profitable efforts (tadabirenafia) and acts accordingly. The people in general are also aware of these efforts and are also conscious of the good and bad actions. In spite of the

difference of opinion: there is an agreement among the people on the virtuousness of an action and most of the people do desire to perform it. But still there are some who take up the otherwise and Shah Waliullah here points out that they should be neglected. The virtuousness of an action is often confirmed by those who are sent by God with revelation. It does not mean that the reason is not convinced of them. It does demand the performance of such an action and it is therefore that the philosophers and scholars of different religions and countries have established the criteria of an action being virtuous, being good or bad and the people in general should perform only that action established as good. The ways responsible for the performance of the good action are the outcome of the sublimation of the animality (bahimiyat) by the angelic quality (malakiyat). It will be disussed afterwards. The goodness of action can also be realised by reason and those who perform it do have the experience of its benefits. In the preceeding lines Shah Waliullah describes the importance he has experienced by the performance of good or virtuous actions.[16]

In discussion of virtuous actions he gives a list of the actions held as virtues and of those held as sins. The first one of them is the unity of God. We should, however,

not confuse the discussion of the unity of God with the discussion made in his metaphysics. There he explains the concept with a different approach and here he describes it as a virtue. He is of the view that the belief in the unity is the most important virtue. As a matter of fact it should be understood as the cardinal one. Emphasising on it, he cites the prophet Mohammad saying that he asserts that the unity of God is the basis of all virtues. It is the one which begets others. It means that without the belief in the unity of God no other virtue can be attained. It is this virtue which enables the soul to penetrate into the secrets of the divinity. Having explained its importance he speaks of its stages.

To him, there are four stages of the unity of God. The first is the stage of the belief in the fact that God is the only existence. It means that it is the stage of the unity of existence. The second one is the stage of the belief in the fact that God is the only creator of all the skies and the material world. The third stage is the belief in the fact that God is the only designer of all the bodies sustaining in the space between the heaven and earth and, finally, the fourth is the stage of the belief that God alone is worthy of our worship. Regarding the first two

stages there exists no controversy but the other two do invite one.[17]

Discussing the issue he speaks of three groups which do not profess the belief in the unity of God. The first one of them is the group of the astrologers. It holds that the stars play a great role in making or marring our destiny. They are concerned with the day to day events and so they deserve our worship. Thus the astrologers do not believe in God being the designer of the stars and consequently they do not believe in the unity of God. The second group is of the polytheists. These people are of the view that God, of course, is the really Real but some of His servants, having worshipped Him with a great devotion, have acquired His proximity. They, therefore, also deserve our worship. They also hold that God Himself has incarnated in them and so they are divine and being divine they should be worshipped. Thus the polytheists consider many of His servants as worthy to be worshipped by giving the reason that common man by his worship cannot reach God, for He is too great for him. He should, therefore, approach Him with some source, or mediator and these divine persons are the mediators under Him. Consequently their belief in the unity of God is not upto the mark and complete. The third group is of the

Christians. They are of the view that the prophet Jesus Christ is the son of God. In the beginning, as Shah Waliullah holds, they call him so to show his proximity with God and later on they considered him to be the son of God as they advocated the incarnation of God in Jesus Christ and argued that the incarnation of God must be divine and the divine coming from God is His son. They, however, included him in Godhood. The Holy Quran rejects the contention by declaring that God has no wife and son and that if God wants to create anything He pronounces 'Kun' (be) and it becomes (Fayakun). Explaining this process the Quran rejects the theory of incarnation.

Shah Waliullah, in dealing with the concept of unity in Christianity does not point out their belief in the Trinity. They do not believe in God and God's son only but also consider the Holy Ghost Gabriel, as God. Thus the Christians believe in the unity in Trinity, that is, one is three and three is one. We need not give its details.[18]

The second important virtue is the belief in the attributes of God. In dealing with the attributes of God in metaphysics we have referred to the controversy and different schools of the Muslim philosophy. We need not mention them here. It will suffice to say that Shah Waliullah

in his discussion on virtuous actions clearly points out that a Muslim should have a firm belief in the attributes of God. He, in the very beginning of the discussion, asserts that God is over and above our comprehension. Although he has not referred to this verse of Quran

yet he does mean it, or else there is no meaning in saying that He is beyond our comprehension and it is therefore that we understand Him with the ehlp of His attributes. Many of them, as the Shah points out, are the similies but in unfolding a simile we should be careful in its interpretation. For example God's generosity is beyond the generosity of man, although to explain His generosity He has metaphorically been called as generous. To put it clearly, God's generosity should not be interpreted as the one of man.

Shah Waliullah is of the view that the believers in the attributes should not ponder over them, for any ponderance or penetration into them might mislead the believers as it happened with a group of Muslims called as anthropomorphists (mushabbihites) who very inaptly conceived God to be a body having hands, eyes, ears, legs etc. They were misled as they could not understand the metaphor. It is therefore that the Muslims are advised by the Prophet himself and later on by the tradition not to think over the nature of attributes

of God, and the Quran declares that the believers should not think over the nature of God, and as the attributes belong to Him they should also not be thought over.[19]

Shah Waliullah categorises attributes into three types namely (1) the attributes permitted to be contemplated over by the 'Shariah', (2) the attributes not permitted to be contemplated over by Shariah, (3) the attributes to be understood and contemplated in accordance with the necessity. The 'shariah' gives certain principles in accordance with which the attributes of God should be thought over. In the first category he takes those attributes which are suitable to God. For example laughing (zahak), happiness (farhat) and joy (bashashah) - these attributes can be applied to God. But contrary to them are the attributes which do not suit to the dignity of God such as wailing, lamenting, sobbing etc. The third category includes those attributes which are thought over and discussed in accordance with the necessity. It means that the necessity demands their presence in Him. Let us understand them with some examples. God is called 'Alim (Knower) because He knows everything, God being the creator of the world must be aware of all that happens in the world and so He is the knower of all things (alim). God is known as All-Hearer and All

seer (Sami and Basir) because He listens to the prayers of His creatures and notices their conditions. The attribute of will is comprehended to be present in Him because he creates the things when and where they are required. Shah Waliullah here asserts that in the beginning they were all in Him and thereafter He cognised them and created them in the world. Here He supports Ibnal Arabi. He also, in explaining the 'ayanol Sabita' expresses the same view. God is All Powerful because He has the power of choice of doing or not doing something and also of the way with which it is to be done. The same is the case with other attributes. Most of them are those present in the living things. But it should, however, be borne in mind that they are metaphorical in nature and one has to be very careful in understanding them.[20]

Having discussed the virtue of attributes Shah Waliullah comes to describe the destiny. Belief in the destiny or fate is a virtue and as Shah Waliullah puts up, supporting it on the basis of the traditions, it is the greatest virtue. Speaking of the necessity of the faith in destiny he asserts that the faith in it makes the man aware of the telees (tadbir) running through the whole world. Explaining it in the beginning of the book 'HAB' (Hajjatullahil Baligha)

he holds that God first created the forms of the things and thereafter, in accordance with the forms, their capacities and necessities. He created the things themselves. It means that the things are the copies of the forms present in the world of heaven. All the qualities of the things, be they the animate or inanimate, be they vegitation, animals or man, are present in their forms respectively. Some of these qualities are common to all, others are common to species and still others are those which make something individual. Some of the individual qualities are realized and others are hidden until God wills them to be realized. In accordance with the capacity and necessity of the form God provides facilities to the creatures belonging to the different species. It means that He applies different ways (tadabir) to keep different creatures alive and to make them realize their common and individual qualities. In designing these ways there is one we referred above as teleos running through the whole world. The explanation leads us to infer that God plans and designs every thing to be done by the creatures and it certainly is that conclusion which Shah Waliullah aims at. God, in accordance with the capacity of the forms, assigns to the creatures the tasks to be done by them in the world. The animals know the will of

God by their nature but man has its knowledge with the help of revelation. Thus it is certain that destiny or fate cannot be denied. One must have a faith in it, for, as the prophet asserts, those who do not have faith in destiny (Qadr) are receded from him. At another time the prophet asserted that the faith is not complete unless it includes the destiny in its perview. The traditions thus make the destiny a part of faith and it is therefore that the prophet has held it as the highest virtue. It is on this point that there arises a controversy that if God is the designer of all things and if nothing can be done against destiny, what the reward and punishment could mean ? We shall take up this question in the discussion of the reward and punishment.[21]

Explaining the destiny Shah Waliullah speaks of its five stages. In the first stage God willed to create the world. In order to create it he designed its forms. Out of many He chose a few of them and created them in the world of heaven. Thereafter, He designed all the deeds to be done by the creatures in the world. Thus the forms of the objects of the world, their characteristics and nature came into existence. In the second stage God designed the number, quantity and quality of things. It is believed that

God had created the forms of the world fifty thousand years before the creation of the skies. The number of years here signifies a great period of time. Explaining it Shah Waliullah points out that the form of prophet Mohammad was created at that time and it was also decided as to when he will be sent on earth to spread and preach the divine commands. Together with this, it was also decided that there will be a person named as Abu Lahab who would not accept him as prophet and that Abu Lahab will be sinned and indemnified. Thus about all the creatures every-thing was decided in the second stage of destiny. In the third stage God created Adam and also created the forms of his posterity. He also created in them the power to choose the right and to avoid the wrong. In addition to this, He created in them the power to recognise Him and also designed the destiny or the deeds to be done by them in the world, although men, as Shah Waliullah says, do not recollect the event yet all that they do are the deeds for which they were destined to do at the time of the creation of Adam.

In the fourth stage of the destiny, the soul was fused into the foetus. Right at that time the contemplative angels made out whether the person would do good actions or bad actions in his life and thus his being virtuous or vicious

is decided from that very moment. Explaining it Shah Waliullah gives an example of a man who plants a palm tree, taking in view the quality of deeds, soil and atmosphere, guesses many of the qualities of the fruit yet to come after a long time. In the same way the angels, at the time of the fusion of the soul into the foetus of a man, understand whether he will be dominated by animality or divinity.

In the fifth stage of the destiny every-thing that happens in the world of matter is recorded in the world of heaven. Every event presages certain causes which are the commands of the ideal form of the event in the world of heaven. To explain it, he gives two examples. In the first one he states that some people were quarrelling and the Shah prayed to God for this truce to resolve. Just after his prayers he noticed something revealing on the earth from the skies (hazīratulquds). It, in the beginning, was in the form of a point and thereafter it spread all around nd as it spread, the people got rid of their lament-able quarrel and once again showed amity to each other. In the second example he describes the event of one of his sons illness and affirms that during the afternoon (zohar) prayers he saw the death of the ailing son and he died the following night. Thus it is clear that every event that happens in

this world has its causes in the world of heaven and they are created before the event takes place. But at the time of its happening they are revealed on the earth. Some of them are perished. He explains it by saying that sometimes certain miseries, for example, are created to trouble a person but his prayers stop them from hovering upon him. Or sometimes the death is postponed by some virtue. In order to support it, he makes the mention of some traditions but does not refer to any of them here. It would have been desirable had he quoted any of the traditions to justify that the death can be postponed by some virtue because it is the belief of the Muslims that the death comes at its own time. Thus in our opinion this argument is not in conformity with the general belief and saying something against it should have been supported either by the verses of the Quran or by the traditions and that too with proper references. Summing up the stage Shah Waliullah is of the view that the events are the effects of the causes created prior to their occurence and the forms created a priori are given a meaning when their copy is to be created in the world. He again explains it with some examples such as miseries, the forms of the rivers Nile and Euphrates were first created in the sky and thereafter on the earth. In the same way the

Quran was first revealed on the first sky and thereafter, through the prophet, on the earth. The prophet saw heaven and hell between himself and the wall of the mosque and felt them so close that he could pluck the grapes of heaven and feel the heat of the hell. Similar is the case of other things. All of them have their forms in the world of heaven and all that happens is in accordance with the destiny of the form and it is actually the cause of the event and not those causes which are generally understood to be the causes of the events. Explaining it further, Shah Waliullah quotes Omar Farooq ascertaining that the grazing of the camel in a pasture is also destiny. In connection with the same the prophet was once asked that the magic and the medicine can cure some one. He replied that they were also destiny, meaning thereby that they are destined to cure or the man is destined to be cured by them. The companion Umar states that man is force in his action but he is not ~~force~~ free to use his freedom because freedom implies that his profit desire and intention should be created in the form of aim and if they are at all created, he cannot have their knowledge. Thus he is not free. It means that whatever man does is done in accordance with the destiny of his form in the world of heaven which has been shaped in five stages.[22]

Having gone through the virtue of destiny it seems that Shah Waliullah advocates both determinism and indeterminism. But it will be clear in the discussion of reward and punishment. Shah Waliullah does not take up the position of Asharites in regard to destiny.

Having described the virtue of the belief in destiny, Shah Waliullah, then, takes up another virtue consisting in the faith in the worship of God. He regards it as one of the highest virtues and considers its pursuit to be essential for the followers of the religion. He is of the view that the worship of God by man is His privilege and man by worshipping should give Him His due. Supporting his argument he quotes a tradition in which the prophet Mohammad asks one of his companions Maadh that if he knows the privilege of God to man. He replies that the prophet knows it better. The prophet replying him tells that the privilege of God to man is to be worshipped and the privilege of man to God is to bless him, if he is not polytheist, of sin (azab). Thus the virtue consists in the fact that man should worship God, he should be a unitarian by faith and together with this should also be convinced of the necessity of the prayer. It means that he should not worship Him just as a matter of habit or convention but willingly and heartily.

Explaining the necessity of will (irada) in the action he asserts that in the celestial world (alam e malakut) there is one stage at which rests the will. The actions to be done are decided at this stage but at this stage of will doing or not doing of an action does not mean anything. That is to say that it comes when the matter of its' performance confronts us. At this stage the action is certainly not performed. It is created by God. The philosophers who understand by will the doing or not doing of an action are, as Shah Waliullah thinks, wrong, because they interpret will in the context of man and this world, and because they are not in a position to comprehend the stage of will in the celestial world (alame Jabarut). To establish his criticism against them, he argues that before the performance of an action its doing or not doing is one and the same, meaning thereby that the action implies both and it is a matter of choice that man can choose any one of them. He gives an example to support his contention that a man intends to take a pen. He knows that he could take it by his hand but unless he takes it up the action of lifting the pen is not performed and unless it is performed its doing or not doing is one and the same. Similar is the case with other actions. They are created in the world

of forms taking in view the capacity of the doers and every one, in accordance with his own capacity, performs them. As the capacity of the doer increases, new forms of actions are revealed. Explaining it he gives an example of the prayer. When a man prays, the form of its acceptance is revealed. It means that in the creation of the forms of acceptance man's prayers play an important part. It is evident that actions are created in accordance with the capacity and the capacity depends on will. The will is indispensable. Supporting his contention, Shah Waliullah holds that the 'Shariah' proves it by advocating the faith in power of choice (Qadr). Explaining it he gives the example of a couple of camels indulging in the pleasure of the flesh. Enquiring into the reason of their indulgence we can either say that it is due to their helplessness or God's will or their own will. Any of these interpretations will independently be wrong. The right one will consist in the fact that their own will of doing it and the creation of their action by God to be done by them run side by side. It means that both of them are equally important. God has designed this action for them and they have chosen it by their will. Similar is the case with other actions to be done by man. He has been given the power of choice but

this choice should bring him to choose the right action. That is to say that the action is designed for them by God. Worship of God is one of them and should be chosen by man at his own will. He has given this argument in order to explain that the worship should be done willingly and not by habit or convention.[23]

Worship is the privilege of God. Explaining it he gives three reasons. The first one of them is that God is the bestower of reward. That who rewards must be thanked and worship is performed as a token of thankfulness to God for the rewards He has given to man. The second one of them lies in the fact that God punishes those who defy His unity and avoid His worship in the world and finally, God rewards those following the path of servitude and punishes those following the path of disobedience. These reasons lead us to the knowledge of (1) rewards of God (2) punishment of God and (3) states of the life hereafter. The Holy Quran emphasises on the knowledge of these three because worship of God is in the nature of man and man should choose what is there in his nature. Denying it is against religion. Moreover, the worship is the privilege of God as it is in the nature of man.[23]

In the proceeding lines he explains the fact that the

worship is natural. He asserts that together with the five senses (Javareh) man possesses another sense (latifa) known as the sense of divinity (latifa-e-Norani). This sense being divine, is attracted towards God and is satisfied when divine deeds are done. In order to know the sense of divinity, man first should realise his five senses (Javareh) and thereafter he will know this sense present in him a priori. The realisation of the sense of divinity is not possible without the help of intuition and the sufis alone can realise it for they are aware of the intuition in them. Like other realisations, it also stands as self-evident. Explaining it Shah Waliullah asserts that its realisation is like the hunger or thirst. It evidently means that hunger and thirst can only be felt and not explained. Similar is the case with this sense. Man remains unconscious of this sense so long as he is involved in leading a life of senses. In such a state he does not feel the existence of this sense in him. But after his death, when all the senses are quiet he becomes aware of the sense of divinity and then realises the tendency of his nature. Thus he clearly explains that the worship is the privilege of God because it is in the nature of man concealed as a tendency in the sense of divinity (latifae noorani). Although the actions

to be done by every individual are created by God in the world of forms, yet being induced to the sense of divinity present in him man can choose divine actions.[24]

Having discussed the virtue of the belief in the worship of God, he comes to another virtue embodied in the respect of the paths of God (Shaare Ilahiya). Before describing these paths he explains abstract actions (Umure mujarridah) and the concrete signs (Shaar). The abstract actions are those which are advocated by 'Shariah'. The concrete actions or paths are the signs of God. These signs are to be respected because by respecting them one shows respect to God. They are four in number, namely (i) the Quran; it should be respected because it is the command of God, (ii) the prophet; he should be honoured because he has been sent by God and by respecting him the Sender is respected, (iii) Kaba; it should be respected because it is taken as the house of God. In the days of the prophet Ibrahim it was built; for the people had constructed houses for the idols and for them it was necessary that the House of God should also be constructed so that they could respect Him and be benefitted after entering its edifice. As it has been established, it should be respected by the followers.

Besides, Shah Waliullah, ~~then~~, describes prayer (salat),

fasting (saum), Holy tax (zakat) and the pilgrimage to Kaba (Haj) as virtues and also includes in them the ablution (Wadhu) bathing (ghusl). But we as the students of philosophy need not go into their details. It will be suffice to say that the religion Islam considers them as virtuous actions and Shah Waliullah being a Muslim thinker also advocates their inculcation in the followers of Islam.

Each of the virtues is a paragon of some secrets and it is because of that the path of virtue should be followed. In its explanation Shah Waliullah takes up some of the virtues and points out the secrets embodied in them. The first of them is the rememberence of God (Zikre Ilahi). The prophet himself has emphasised it and has held as the highest of all virtues. Related to it is the (dua) prayer which purifies the heart of man and also includes in him the feeling of humility before God. It is essential because it helps man make out the difference between God (mabud) and the man (abd). Besides, one of the greatest virtue is the recitation of the Holy Quran. It arouses the feeling of fear in man and also helps him get rid of useless enthusiasm. Another virtue that Shah Waliullah mentions in this discussion is the holywar (jehad). It is a virtuous action for the reason that it wipes out the enemies of religion,

eradicates the evils like Paganism (kufr), fisq (falsity) and cruelty from the society and brings back the blessings of God in the world. Thus all of these virtues should be inculcated for the reason of their secrets.[25]

Having discussed the secrets of virtue Shah Waliullah takes up an interesting problem. He rationalises it for it is a matter of general interest. It has often been observed that a man following the path of virtue leads a hard pressed life. It seems to be rather paradoxical that a man pursuing the path of virtue should not be prosperous. Explaining it Shah Waliullah gives convincing arguments.

He is of the view that a virtuous man is in difficulties for many reasons. Firstly, he leads a hard pressed life because he needs purity. In his difficulties he remembers God and his heart and soul are purified. Secondly, he gets punishment of his sins in the world itself so that he may be relieved of the torture (azab) in the life hereafter. Thirdly, the period of difficulties is in his case the period of illness and when the illness is recovered, he like other patients forgets the previous state of affairs and starts leading a new life with new courage and perseverence. Thus Shah Waliullah in a very scholarly manner rationalises the problem of general interest and answers the question

which often haunts the young minds.[26]

Having discussed the virtuous actions, Shah Waliullah, then comes to describe the sin. We have already defined it in the proceding passage. We shall, at present, discuss the nature of some of the sins. Shah Waliullah in particular deals with polytheism. At the outset of the discussion, he describes its nature asserting that the aim of worship is to make man able to distinguishing between humble and the great. In each of the deeds there are two aspects and the deed may be done by taking any of them into account. We, for example stand and bow down in the prayer. Both the actions imply respect but it may either imply the respect of man or the respect of God. One is humble and the other is great. The worship teaches a man to discern between the two. Explaining it further, Shah Waliullah affirms that the humble should be attributed with humble things and the great with honour, respect and great capacities. Such an understanding will give a man a distinction of the humble and the great and he will not confuse one with the other.[27]

In regard to his affairs like power, prestige etc. man understands them on two levels. On the first one he takes them in relation to himself, individuals like himself and being other than his self (God). On the second level he

takes them in relation to the persons in whom he seems some devilish powers. Thus taking them on these two levels, he understands the implications of the affairs and discerns the humble from the great. In the same way the secrets are also understood on two levels. On the first one he gains their knowledge from the sources like senses, reason, dream, divinity and other such sources having no concern with his self. On the second level he gets their knowledge from other persons without labouring for its attainment. In the first case he works hard and undergoes difficulties to achieve their knowledge but in the other he makes no effort. Here Shah Waliullah though does not indicate but does refer to the sufis and ordinary persons. In the same way all other affairs like effect, effort and others are also interpreted on two levels. Firstly, he, by effect, for example understands to create something in a state by doing certain effort. Secondly he understands by it as creating something without any state or effort i.e. by the will of God. It categorically suggests that the Shah supports the second stage because at the first other media are taken into consideration which in fact, do not play any part in the creation of anything. Adding to explain it he asserts that the stages of the comprehension of the affairs must end in God where nothing

can be categorised in any part. But here again, he holds that the attributes of God must be distinguished from the attributes of man, for any such amalgamation begets polytheism. Explaining its nature he warns the people of those who, by seeing in some of their fellow beings some of the attributes which they did not possess, believed them to be divine and named them as sons of God or relations of God. The other way leading to polytheism is also opened by the erroneous amalgamation of the attributes of God with those of men and other creatures. Some of the people observe some of the attributes in the planets and the stars and start worshipping them. Out of them, some are of the opinion that God is the king of all the divine beings but some of the men, due to their worship, and other creatures such as stars and planets have been given some powers by God. In all the cases referred above, believers practice polytheism which in no case is allowed by the Almighty and to this they are lead due to the incapability of discerning the humble from the great. Summing up the discussion we should point out that Shah Waliullah deals with the implications of the affairs to explain the distinction between the two, because one leads to polytheism and the other to monoism or unitarianism. He explains it by one of his experiences that he was given

an account of a race adoring bee and was asked if it was polytheism. He told that it was not so, because the race did not consider bee a god. The Shah told that he has reached the truth. It means that he observed the intention of the race and found in it no resolution of making the bee a god.[28]

The nature of polytheism has been discussed in the preceding passage. In the present one Shah Waliullah deals with the types of polytheism. He determines its types on the basis of the affairs regarded by the Shariah as polytheistic. Out of them, we shall take up the important ones. Bowing the head before anyone other than God is one type of polytheism. The Quran and the tradition both repeatedly warn the people against it. The other type of polytheism is to consider a man or any other creature as sharing with God. The Quran and the tradition instruct the people to refrain from it as well, and also inform of those people who practised/by calling men and other creatures as son of God or daughters of God (here the references are made to the Christians and the Pagans in the pre-Islamic Arabs.) Besides, there are many types of polytheism such as taking an oath of something else other than God, keeping such names as Abdul Shams, Abdul Azza, etc. The prophet repeatedly

forbids any such type of polytheism to be practised by Muslims. To put it in brief, polytheism is against religion and is, therefore, a sin.

Having discussed polytheism and its types, Shah Waliullah comes to describe the grades of sins. When he talks of the stages it is but evident that he does not consider all sins as equally gross and great. There is no doubt that any of them described below is a sin but some of them are major and othersminor. It should also be noted that the decision of its being major or minor will be in comparison to one another and not to any of the virtues. At the outset of discussion, he defines the sin as a deed done under the control of sensuousness or lowerself (Nafs). Thus all the deeds of this nature will be held as sin but cannot be treated on equal footings and so he speaks of the grades of sin. Firstly, he takes up those sins which when committed hamper the way of man's progress. He divides them into two categories. The first category includes the sin of the ignorance of God. Shah Waliullah is of the view that a man who is ignorant of God commits the greatest sin. Not only he is the sinner but the man who knows Him but does not believe in Him is a sinner of equal status. Every one should, therefore, believe in Him. The second category

covers the sin of the disbelief in the life hereafter. He considers it as a major sin because to him it is against reason and a man believing in this life alone is controlled by his sensousness and not by his reason. The soul of such a man after his death admits no illumination and dwells in complete darkness. Keeping it in the first place means that it is the greatest sin and should therefore be avoided. Man must have the knowledge of God, he should not confuse and blend his attributes with the attributes of God. His attributes should not be understood with the help of a simile for it requires great care in its enfoldment. Man should also be careful of polytheism. It means that he should not see God's attributes in any of the creatures. In addition to this, he should have a firm belief in the life hereafter. In the second grade are the sins belonging to the denial of the greatness (fazail) of the God's chosen persons. God imparts these qualities to them to achieve a great dignity. The sinner of this type does neither believe in the dignity of such persons nor on the gifts given to them by God. Such a person, as Shah Waliullah thinks, is deprived of his desired dignity. The third grade of sins includes those deeds which deprive man of God's deliverance (nijat). They are either the forbidden deeds or those against the nature of

man. Some of them such as murder is very grave, others are serious and still others like gambling etc. are harmful. These actions are done by those controlled by sensuousness. The eradication of this type of sin depends on the involvement of the soul of the person in the sin. Some of them are in the grip of sensuousness or animality. In their case the soul can be cured by following the commands of the Shariah. Some of these sinners are more perverted and require rigorous efforts to eradicate this sin from their souls. The disobedience to the command (Shariah) and ways of God is a sin of the fourth grade. The people must believe in the commands of God revealed to their prophets to eradicate evil from the society. It is the duty of the followers to act in accordance with the principles and commands of God revealed to the prophets of different times, ages and places. Regarding some of the deeds God clearly reveals His will to the prophet and those left untouched must be done in accordance with the will of the prophet. Shah Waliullah seems to advocate that every one should follow the prophet of his age. The fifth grade of sin includes the denial of the will of God regarding some deeds known by a sufi or a man in proximity with God. Explaining it Shah Waliullah asserts that there

are some deeds about which nothing is said by God nor by the prophet but some person attaining God's proximity gets the knowledge of eithertheir affirmation or of negation and other people should follow him, for God has told him His will about these actions. It should however be borne in mind that every one should not strive for the knowledge of the will of God, for God gives to everyone in accordance with his capacity and no one should, therefore, burden himself more than his capacity. The prophet Mohammad has categorically affirmed not to be severe to oneself as it is beyond ones capacity. And if one persists in being severe to oneself God will punish him. The people in general are, therefore, advised to follow the path of mean.[29]

The discussion of the grades of sinsentails the another discussion regarding the perversions brought about by sins. In the beginning of the discussion he defines the two grades of sins namely major sins (alkabira) and minor sins (alsaghira) as given by the Shariah of Islam. The major and the minor sins are to be understood in two respects namely (1) in respect of the nature of virtue and vice and (2) in respect of the commands (shariah) and principl s belonging to different ages. The major sin (alkabirah), from the point of view of the nature of virtue and vice, is a sin which necessarily

results in the torture on its doer in his grave and on the Day of Judgement or it is a sin resulting into the perversion in the beneficial efforts (tadabire nafiah), or it is a sin inducing a man to do something against his nature. And minor sin (Saghira) is one which may lead to the results of the major sins or may probably lead to an action following the results of the major sin; or it is a sin which in the way leads to some perversion and its' otherwise helps to avoid it. Explaining it he gives an example of a man sacrificing all his money for the sake of God but as a consequence to this his children starve to death. By sacrificing his wealth he certainly has given up the habit of misery but he commits another sin i.e. the sin of not looking after his family. In respect to the 'Shariah', major sin (alkabira) is an action forbidden by God or it is a sin when committed by a man, he is declared as seceded from Islam. The Shariah declares only those actions as major sins which are against the will of God but their performance becomes traditional. The people insist on doing them. The Shariah, keeping in view the perversions brought about by them in the society, forbids them by command and thus the people are made to abstain from their doing. It means that the evil deeds are declared as the major sins. Some of the actions are the

minor sins when understood in respect of the nature of virtue and vice but the same become major sins (alkabira) when taken in respect of Shariah as explained above.[30]

Having discussed the major and minor sins he describes the perversion brought about by the major sin. From the point of view of the nature of virtue and vice the major sin results into a torture on its doer. There is a controversy regarding the fact that the sinner will be forgiven or not. Different sects of Muslims explaining their point of view present their arguments regarding the issue based on the Quran and the tradition. Shah Waliullah also gives his own contention. He is of the view that the controversy may be resolved by taking into account the fact that there are two types of actions namely (1) the voluntary or involuntary actions (2) and the problems (masail) which are also of two types, namely the necessary and probable. The two different problems (masail) should be related to one and the same direction (Jahat). To explain it let us take an example. If a man says that poison causes death but the other asserts that it does not necessarily causes death, it implies that one can survive even after taking poison. In the first case it is a necessary judgment. That is to say that death must occur when the poison is

taken, and in the second case it is probable. Similar is the case with the actions of God. It is natural on His part that He should torture a man committing major sins but He can do otherwise as well. Besides, the man committing the major sin is, however, different from a non-believer and should not, therefore, be tortured for ever. Thus the greatest harm of the sin is torture.

Another harm brought about by the sin is the perversion of soul. It is on the basis of sin that man is either held as atheist, pagan, non believer or a sinner. The condition of the souls of these persons is also different for they are at different stages as regards to their belief. Shah Waliullah says that the divinity (malakiyat) is enveloped by the sensuousness (bahimiyat). Inducement towards God is in the nature of man but the sensuousness stops him and when he is completely controlled by it, the divinity in him becomes helpless. In the state of its helplessness he commits great sins. He denies the existence of God, does not behave in the prophet, and, putting it in brief, he defies religion. Such man is an atheist. His soul remains in darkness, he shows inability to understand the secrets of divinity but his atheism is against the nature of the divinity in him and so it remains restless. Such a man,

as Shah Waliullah puts it, is the greatest sinner, for he does not believe in God, His commands and His prophet. Thereafter he describes the pagans. They do not believe in the unity of God and do not follow His command. They insist on their previous beliefs. Any such belief, however, is a sin. The divinity ~~in~~ (malakiyat) in them is also controlled by the sensuousness (bahimiyat). Their souls are also restless, for they do against nature. Next to them is the stage of those who do understand the unity of God (Tauhid) and are also convinced of the validity of His commands but do not follow them. The last of all are those who follow the commands of God and together with this also indulge themselves in minor sins. The conditions of the souls is explained by the analogy of a bird in a cage. In the first case the soul is like a bird in a cage having no holes. In the second case it is like the bird in a cage in which there are holes but covered with a veil. In the third case it is like a bird in a cage having holes but unable to come out of these holes. In the fourth case the soul is like a bird in a cage having holes. It somehow or the other can free itself by harming its feathers and skin but thereafter will not be able to live with its fellow beings due to the wounds. Thus the same has been explained

in this tradition that some will be burnt in the fire, others will fall in it butthereafter may be redeemed and still others will only face its flames and thereafter he will be forgiven.[31]

The sins described above are the ones polluting the soul. We shall in the proceeding lines deal with those sins related to the outward behaviour of man. To begin with the discussion, Shah Waliullah holds that there are many kinds of animal species in the world. Each of them has certain characteristics and it is in accordance with them that it lives its life. The most ordinary of them are the insects. God only tells them how to find out their food, and other than this they know nothing and need nothing. The birds are the next in the hierarchy of the animal species. They are told how to find out their food, how to build their nests and how to give birth their off springs. Next to them are the mamals. They are also informed of the ways of getting the food, seeking the shelter and producing their offsprings. On the top of the hierarchy there stands man who has been given reason and prudence to probe into the matters related to his life. God informs him of only few things which he does in childhood and grows up to face the environment in which he leads social, economic and

political life. He has to get the knowledge as to how to live his life. For some of the affairs guidance is given to him by revelation through the prophet and he becomes aware of the will of God. In some of the affairs he follows his predecessors and other experienced persons and thus gets their knowledge. Even after that there are many affairs about which he has to decide himself and he does decide by pondering over them and finding out their solution. Knowledge about them comes from his reason. God does not guide man regarding all affairs, for then he would not be able to use his reason. It is here that the matter of choice comes before him and he either chooses the right or the wrong action. By choosing wrong one he commits a sin. Describing the sins of man Shah Waliullah classifies the actions into three categories namely (1) the actions related to the sex, (2) hazardous actions (Sabab̄yah) and (3) actions related to social dealing. We shall desćribe them one by one. Before describing the actions related to sex it should be pointed out that man is the embodiment of desires and every one of them wants to fulfil his own and does not tolerate the interference of others in their fulfilment but if the course of intolerence is pursued it will certainly be hazardous and there will be no one to live in the world. In

order to avoid it God has prescribed a path for the completion of desires. It is done for God knows and it is in the nature of man and he must pursue it.[32]

The sexual desire is natural because it helps increase the population and thus it is a natural course in the species of the animals. For the mammals and the fowls God has given no course but in case of man it is necessary. Shah Waliullah presents a very psychological contention saying that no one tolerates interference in the sexual pleasure. The animals, when disturbed, quarrel with each other and the strong gets over the weak. The weak consequently runs away and the strong enjoys with the opposite. Man also does not tolerate any interference in his sexual affairs but he cannot be left to quarrel with each other if disturbed. It is, therefore, better in the case of man to have a woman for himself. It is the right course of the fulfilment of his sexual desire. Many of them choose other ways and they commit sin because their deeds are very much against their nature.

Keeping in view the very same idea in mind the hazardous actions are also forbidden. Drinking, for example is forbidden because it disturbs the economic life of man. In the state of intoxication man loses his senses and he

stops making efforts. Consequently, it affects his economic life. Anger is in the nature of man and together with this he has the potentiality of revenge. He is angry when something is done against his will, and like many other animals he decides to take revenge. Being controlled by this tendency he often murders or gets murdered or gives poison. In any of the cases it is a danger to humanity, and consequently, all such hazardous actions are declared as forbidden.

There are many actions related to the social dealings which disturb the social life. Stealing, for example, harms the humanity, it disturbs man's economic life. It has, therefore, been forbidden. Had it not been so man would have been reduced to naught. Similar is the case with telling a lie. It is also regarded as social evil and has, therefore, been forbidden. All these actions as they disturb the life of man are forbidden by God. Man in order to lead a good life must refrain himself from doing them and must consider them as sin. Alongwith this, he should be sure of getting punishment in case he performs them.

We have discussed the virtues and vices and having understood it, it is rather apt to deal with reward and punishment in the proceeding passage.

The problem of reward and punishment has been a matter of controversy in the history of Muslim philosophy. We deem it indispensable to give a brief description of the approach adopted by different philosophers to explain reward and punishment. In connection with this, we shall aptly refer to the schools of determinism (jabr) and indeterminism (Qadr). The former believed in the futility of reward and punishment, for it contended that man is a tool in the hands of God and whatever he does is actually done by Him. The contention is supported by the verses of Quran and also by the traditions. To some of them we have referred elsewhere. At present it will suffice to say that in the case of complete determinism, reward and punishment have no meaning.

But as we know and as a common man believes that reward and punishment have been promised in the Holy Quran and in the traditions as well, it must, therefore, have some meaning. Keeping this in view, the latter (Qadr) believes in reward and punishment. In support of the contention, many verses from the Quran, and traditions as well may be quoted.[21] And on the basis of these verses and traditions it can rightly be inferred that the reward and punishment are the matters of reality and shall have to be enjoyed or faced. Stepping forward in the realm of the history

of philosophy we come to other schools of thought, lending a thought provoking contribution to the problem of reward and punishment. These schools namely Mutazilism and Asharism are of no less importance in the history of philosophy. Both of them agree on the basic proposition of the reward and punishment and also hold as a matter of conviction that it is necessary in this life and the life hereafter. The Mutazalites being the offshort of Qadirites are of the view that God must reward the virtuous and punish the vicious. In support of their contention they quote the verses of Quran. The Asharites neither believe in any imposition on God regarding the reward and punishment nor, like the Jabrites, do they believe in its futility but take up a position in midway and hold that reward and punishment are essential but it entirely depends on the will of God whom to reward and whom to punish. God can reward for a virtuous action and punish a vicious one but can, however, do otherwise as well. It is also worth mentioning that unlike Mutazalites who believe in the priority of reason, the Asharites give priority to revelation and advocate that it is revelation which informs man about an action of its being virtuous or vicious. Arguing the issue, they put forward a very convincing example of the fact which by all

means and from every aspect is a virtue, but the very same action is forbidden on certain days in the year and thus becomes a punishable action.

Shah Waliullah starts his discussion on the reward and punishment by holding a belief in the basic proposition that it is a must in this life and the life hereafter, and it is therefore that he begins from the causes of reward and punishment and not from the controversy whether man will be rewarded or punished for his deeds or not. His not indulging into the controversy is suggestive of the fact that he takes it a priori. In our discussion on destiny we have pointed out that he neither believes in determinism nor in indeterminism but in semi determinism which on one hand denies the free will to man and on the other affirms it. We shall deal with it in the conclusion of this discussion. In the proceeding passage we shall discuss the causes of reward and punishment as described by Shah Waliullah.

There are, as he says, many causes but two of them are important and leaving the minor ones he describes only the major ones. The first cause of reward and punishment lies in the fact of realisation by the divinity of its having done some action. Shah Waliullah is of the view that like the assimilation of knowledge the divinity in man also has a

capacity to review its actions and in the process of revision it detects any wrong action and consequently is depreciated and on doing the right actions it is delighted. The contentment and relief are its blessings. The soul, due to the divinity is in a position to know as to what suits it and which is against it. Having realised it the soul feels pain in case some wrong action has been done. It is informed of it by the angels. It often visualises panic in the dream. It sees the angels in horrible forms in the case of wrong action, and in a rapturous and ecstatic form in the case of a good action. It, however, means that man is made aware of his actions and he can avoid the undesirable and choose the good one. The following verse of the Quran refers to this very fact of self-revelation regarding the action :

بلیٰ من کسب - (الخ)

(Those who perform bad actions will be burnt in the furance of Hell and will be there in for ever).

According to Shah Waliullah, the second cause of reward and punishment is the attention of Khatiratul Quds (world of angels). Explaining it he asserts that in the world of higher angels (malae a'la) all the desirable and undesirable actions are present. Thus the men who perform the desirable actions are blessed by the higher angels

(Mala-e-a'la) and those choosing the undesirable ones are cursed by them. The prayers of higher angels are granted by God and thereafter the higher angels surround the good men to bless them and vicious ones to inflict pain, agony, averence and curse. Shah Waliullah is of the view that the prayer of the angels has been mentioned to explain the contention; otherwise, as a matter of fact, God from the very moment of the creation of the sky and earth attends to them, rewards the virtue and punishes the vice. In reference to it he quotes the following verse from the Holy Quran :

ان الذين كفروا – (الخ)

(Those who will die in the state of Paganism shall always be cursed by God, His angels, and men. They shall always live in the state of torture and agony of which they shall never get rid of).

It is not necessary that there should be any one of the causes to bring reward or punishment to man but both of them could occur at the same time. In the case of the first cause the divinity in man is controlled by the sensuality and it becomes so much strong that the divinity loses all its hold. We are aware of the stand of Shah Waliullah that he emphasises on the reverse position. It is clear that we mean that the divinity would control the sensuality and not otherwise, and when otherwise becomes the state of affairs it is nothing but the state of sin in which man is

his actions is guided by his sensuality (bahimiyat) instead of the divinity (Quwate malikiya). The divinity, however, does not remain suppressed for good. It sometimes illumines the soul to realise its own state. It is possible in the case of individual and wordly actions for only those who have a prudent soul. Thus the first cause is removed. The second one is to be removed by certain other contrary causes meaning thereby that the causes resulting into the bliss and reward can do away the effect of a cause resulting into the curse and abhorence. God by His mercy and grace attends to a man or nation and eradicates the evil. The following verse is quoted in its' reference :

لكل امة ~~[illegible]~~ - (الخ)

(Every nation has its own time and when the time comes, it cannot be done away with).

Thus the causes of reward and punishment, like the causes of other things, yield any of the fruits namely either the fruit of reward or that of punishment. It depends on man to earn any one of the two caused by the facts described above.[33]

Having described the causes Shah Waliullah discusses the reward and punishment after death. At the outset of the discussion he quotes the following verses from Holy Quran.

1. ما اصابكم - الخ )

(All the troubles are by your own actions)

2. ولو انهم - الخ )

(Verily had they not amended the old and New Testaments and the commands of God they would had had a plenty of food).

3. ان تبدوا - الخ )

(Whatever is there in your hearts whether you reveal it or keep secret, God will, however, command you to account for it).

4. من يعمل سوءا - الخ )

(Whosoever does a bad action shall be punished for it).

All these verses are indicative of the fact that reward and punishment are earned by man himself. In the case of wrong actions he invites troubles for himself. Contrary to this the virtuous actions result into God's blessings. Having committed a sin if a man realises and repents for it God may pardon him. The sense of sin and repentence makes him innocent and virtuous. In the state of sin the sensuality rules over the divinity. This domination ends either in the physical death when divinity gets apart and illumines the soul, or in the self imposed death (here it is the death of animality) when a man continously absorbs himself in mortification (reyazat) to sublimates the animality and persistently attends to the world of heaven (alam quds). Consequently, the divinity (malikiyat)

illumines his soul and sensuality is sublimated (bahimiyat). This sublimation of sensuality is its death.[34]

It should be borne in mind that every thing is delighted to do the actions in accordance with its nature and if it happens to perform the contrary actions, it is grieved. In the same way all the actions embodying delight and the actions bearing lament are also revealed in the form giving delight or inflicting pain. To explain his proposition he gives the example of a nail and other troubles which in dream are seen in the form of trouble. Thus it is clear that the domination of divinity brings delight, and the domination of sensuality inflicts pain. In accordance with his nature man should be inclined towards his divinity to get delight, otherwise he will be grieved and sad. Thus delight is his reward and lament is his punishment.[35]

Reward and punishment are not only the matters of the life hereafter but man gets any of them in accordance with his deeds in this world as well. God has catagerically affirmed that every one shall reap as he sows in this world and in the otherone. Every action is the effect of a cause and the reward and punishment in accordance with the deeds also proceed from the causes of actions. In order to understand the phenomena of reward and punishment the causes should

necessarily be understood for with out understanding the effect, reward and punishment cannot be justified. Sometimes it so happens that a virtuous man finds himself in a state of penetence and he is unable to understand its causes. In such a case his own virtuous actions are its causes and he is put in such a state for the purification of his heart and soul and for the emancipation of his sins. A Muslim, as Shah Waliullah holds, remains in the state of penitence for the reasons prescribed above. A non-believer, on the other hand, is in the state of wordly prosperity and pleasure. It is because God wants him to enjoy the world even to this last breath and thereby increase his sins by indulging himself in luxury and licenciousness. For him, the life hereafter will be eternal Hell. In support of his contention, Shah Waliullah quotes the tradition

مثل المؤمن - (الخ)

(The believer is like a tender trunk which is swayed to and fro by the wind until it falls down. The non-believer is like a strong trunk not allowing the wind to shake it but at last very suddenly falls down.

The simile is expressive of the fact that a believer lives a life of penitence and a non-believer a life of peace and prosperity. Further more the prophet asserts that every disease emancipates a believer (momin) from his sin.[36]

Many people in the world indulge themselves in develish

deeds. In the history of mankind evil has cropped in the society several times through the ages but each time God has helped man to eradicate the evil from the society and each time man has disobeyed the commands of God. The verses of Holy Quran, for example the following one refer to the sending of the prophets by God in the world.

وما ارسلنا - الخ

(In each village God has sent a prophet. He has punished the people for their disobedience. They often blamed God to have ill treated their forefathers. God in return penalizes them for their misconception.)

Reward and punishment are earned by man in the world itself. All the men will have to account for their actions on the Day of Judgement, and not only the man, the other creatures like Jin, will also be rewarded and punished for their deeds. The following verse refers to this fact

ايها الثقلان - الخ

(God will be at leisure to look into the account of the creatures on this day).

The states of reward and punishment are realised by man in this world. In the case of reward, he feels ecstatic and rapturous and in the case of punishment heavy and grievious. It is necessary for a believer to understand the phenomena of reward and punishment. It will help him earn the reward and avoid the punishment on one hand and reconcile the contrary traditions on the other. By the

contrary traditions, the Shah means the following :

a) The licenciates are punished at once.

b) Those who indulge in luxury are actually the ones to be punished for their deeds.

There is no contradiction in the two traditions, for a believer leads a life of hardships and a non believer a life of luxury.

Summing up the discussion we should add that it is evident from the works of Shah Waliullah that he believes in the reward and punishment. From the above discussion it is also clear that Shah Waliullah does not only advocate the matter of reward and punishment to be decided in the life hereafter but also pleads for them in this life, and by taking the support of the traditions and the verses of Quran he holds his contention and puts it in a convincing way.

Regarding the free will, much has been discussed while dealing with the destiny. It should, however be pointed out here that he neither believes in determinism nor in indeterminism but he takes up a midway position to point out that man has been given the freedom of choice. He could choose either the good or virtuous actions or wrong or vicious actions. He also rationalises as to why the good

actions should be chosen saying that they are in accordance with the nature of man and in order to satisfy his own nature, their choice is indispensable for him. Let us recollect that even in the matter of worship he advocates indispensability on the same basis. Thus to him the choice of virtuous action is a right choice, for it corresponds to the nature of man himself. Regarding the origin of the action, he shares Ghazali and is of the view that the forms of the actions are created in the world of forms. It is certainly suggestive of the fact that the actions originate in God. The matter of choice, then, is to be seen in their completion and that depends on man. Shah Waliullah may be criticised for saying that every man is destined to do what he does in the world and in such a case no question to do of reward and punishment arises. But in our opinion it will not be a proper assessment of his position because he says it basing on the fact that God knows everything, He knows the future of man as well. And as there is nothing beyond His knowledge, man's destiny can not also be on par. God knows the tendencies of the soul of man. It is here that the destiny is shaped meaning thereby that every soul must be divine. If it lacks, it means that it has chosen the wrong and for this it should be punished.

Thus in our opinion Shah Waliullah does not deny free will to man, yet man is not free in all spheres; destiny plays its own role. He can alter it by prayers. The Shah emphasises on it at several places. Freedom of choice of man gives him free will and destiny determines it. But as we have said it in the beginning, it is neither complete determinism nor complete indeterminism, on the contrary it is the determined freedom.[37]

# C O N C L U S I O N

The philosophy of Shah Waliullah, as we conclude, is a sufi philosophy. We have admitted it elsewhere and so we do here that the Shah was a practising Sufi and it is therefore, that his epistemology, metaphysics and ethics are dominated by sufism but it does not mean that he has nothing to do with philosophy as such. Shah Waliullah even in the explanation of sufi problems presents rational arguments. Moreover, he takes to criticise the sufis at many places.

The thesis at hand tries to present a comprehensive philosophy of Shah Waliullah. We have begun it with epistemology. As we are aware, the philosophers in general, consider the reason and the sense experience as the two sources of knowledge. Regarding their veracity and truth, there is a controversy among the philosophers. We have taken to discuss it in the beginning of his epistemology. Shah Waliullah neither challenges the authority of the senses nor does he defy the validity of reason as the sources of knowledge but he does emphasise on a hierarchy. To him the lowest kind of knowledge is imparted by the senses. The reason gives a higher kind

of knowledge. Apart from these sources he also considers the heart, the soul and the hidden power (sirr) as the sources of knowledge, and one yields higher knowledge than the other. Shah Waliullah being a sufi gives much emphasis to the soul (ruh) and considers it to be the highest source of knowledge. Besides, he lays much emphasis on the forms of intuitive knowledge. Meditation (Kashf), inspiration (Ilham), contemplation (Maraqba), revelation (Wahi) and hidden power (Sirr), all of them are the forms of intuitive knowledge. Here he shares many other sufis like Ghazali, Rumi etc. Like him they also believe in these forms of intuitive knowledge.

In the light of his views on epistemology we come to conclude that Shah Waliullah emphasises on the knowledge of the dispositions for the attainment of the knowledge of the world and that of the divine being (God). According to him the dispositions bring out a discipline in the life of a sufi meaning thereby that it stands as indispensable for the persuit of Sufi course. Shah Waliullah is of the view that the ignorance of the dispositions prevents his progress and whatever he keeps on practising lacks experience. Shah Waliullah, therefore, speaks of the advantages of their knowledge and also

informs of the harms of their ignorance. The advantages of the knowledge of dispositions that he speaks of are (1) The sufi knows the right way to remember God, (2) he becomes aware of the fact that the knowledge of the things falling out of the span of senses can be attained by the dispositions. Describing the harms of their ignorance Shah Waliullah holds that (1) in case of the ignorance from dispositions the weak senses cannot be made strong. As a matter of fact he is unable to know as to which of these dispositions is weak and how it can be made strong. It is indeed essential for him as any such ignorance would hamper his progress. Moreover, he should be aware, which of the dispositions should dominate the others so that he might control the strange powers in him, (2) the other harm consists in the fact that the sufi passing through the alternate stages of annihilation and subsistence finds himself in a complete astonishment and wonder, for he is at a loss to understand as to what is going on with him and when he is at a particular stage. Still another harm of the ignorance of these dispositions lies in the fact that the sufi is unable to understand the stage of his predecessors and considers it as the highest or the final one. Here it may be pointed out

that Shah Waliullah seems to criticise the followers of unitism (Wahdatul Wujud). It can be established on the basis of his ideas regarding the stage of wahdatul wujud which he considers as lower than 'Shuhud'. We have discussed it in his metaphysics. However, we shall bring it to light in the proceeding passage. But we may repeat that Shah Waliullah, though does not reject unitism, yet considers it as the lower stage. Thus the knowledge of the dispositions is indispensable for a sufi because of its advantages on one hand and on the other that he can save himself of the harms in the case of ignorance from them. As a matter of fact saving oneself of these harms is also an advantage.[1]

Shah Waliullah proceeds on the discussion and gives us an analytical approach by describing the meanings of different terms used by the sufis. He is of the view that the meanings should necessarily be determined so that the context may be clear and there should be no difficulty in understanding and comprehending the underlying thought. Discussing the problem, he takes up the term 'nafs' which is sometimes used as the nature of man and sometimes as the lower soul and at others as the heart. In each case it will have different implications, defects and qualities.

In the same way the heart is also used to mean different things. Sometimes it is used to mean a bit of flesh in the body, and at others the power that controls the emotions. In the later case it is a disposition. Shah Waliullah also uses them in different meanings but the context helps us to determine them. We shall not be wrong to assert that no philosopher in the east takes up this analytical approach and even in the west this is one of the modern approaches which has recently been emphasised. Thus having gone through his discussion on the terminology we must acknowledge his initiative in adopting this approach. It is not only here that he emphasises on the clarity of terms but at many places he informs the sufis to avoid the confusion arising out of the difference of meaning implied by the terms.[2]

Shah Waliullah also discusses in his epistemology the limitations of the sources of knowledge. It stands as a fact that each one of them imparts the knowledge but in its limited span. He takes them to discuss so that people may not rely on any one of them as every one of them has its own area of perception and cannot be understood as sufficient for the knowledge of everything. He begins it with the external senses (Jawarih). They give us the

knowledge of the worldly objects as they are seen and perceived but the reality there in cannot be known. The heart gives us the knowledge of emotions. The reason in the same way has also its own domain. It perceives the opposites. By them he means the actual and the abstract. Explaining it explicitly we should assert that Shah Waliullah repeatedly brings it out that every object in the world has its form in the world of forms. Thus the object present in the world is the actualisation of the forms present in the world of forms. The reason perceives their difference and the relation as well. It also comprehends the difference of the attribute and the substance and along with this also sees through their relation. Higher than the reason in the system of Shah Waliullah there is yet another source of knowledge known as the hidden power or the 'sirr'. It, as we have pointed out in the beginning, is a form of intuitive knowledge. Shah Waliullah like many other sufis relies on the validity of the intuitive knowledge, meditation, contemplation, inspiration and revelation. All of them have been given due place as the sources of knowledge. As it has been said that many of the sufis rely on intuition, adding to it we should assert that philosophers also believe in its priority. Supporting our contention we can

refer to Iqbal and Bergson. For Iqbal intuition probes into the matters where the reason is struck with wonder and unable to see which is which. It will be apt to quote him :

بے خطر کود پڑا آتش نمرود میں عشق
عقل ہے محو تماشائے لب بام ابھی

Many other verses can be cited but we need not go into the details for we have just mentioned him. The quotations are enough to prove that Iqbal like Shah Waliullah, believed in the validity of the intuitive knowledge and relied on it more than any other source of knowledge. Ghazali and Rumi also emphasise on intuition. For them the revelation is one of the forms of intuitive knowledge, has priority over all of the sources of knowledge. So it is in the case of Shah Waliullah. He also does not challenge, as mentioned before, the authority of other sources, yet the knowledge imparted by the intuition is the most sure and the most correct. Sirr being the hidden power in man makes him realise the secret of truth which is the highest type of knowledge. But it should be kept in view that even this hidden power (sirr) is not prior to revelation. He again and again emphasises on the heed of the prophet and considers the institution of prophethood as the source of human welfare. Thus Shah Waliullah, like other sufis and

philosophers, accepting the validity of other sources of knowledge, emphasises on intuition as the source of knowledge.[3]

Having spoken of the limitations of the sources and the importance of the hidden power (sirr), Shah Waliullah comes to discuss the distinction between reason and 'zauq'. Here again he emphasises on the clarity of the terms and by doing so removes the confusion that arises otherwise. Both reason and Zauq impart to us the knowledge of the objects. Yet they are not one and the same and are distinguished on the basis of their domain. The reason conceives the qualities of objects and Zauq is the power through which the existing object with its contradictory qualities is comprehended. Reason fails to understand the contradiction of the qualities existing in the objects. As a matter of fact it is the error of the senses which apparently perceive the contradiction of qualities, otherwise, in actuality, as Shah Waliullah thinks, there exists no such contradiction. Supporting his assertion he argues that no two individuals are alike and yet they are not different from each other. It is obvious that they are not alike due to the individual qualities and not different from each other due to formal and essential qualities. Besides, it also stands as a fact

that neither of these qualities make the individual what he is. Explaining it he gives the example of some of the qualities existing in man, yet only these qualities do not go to make him a man, for even without them he would have been the same what he is due to their presence in him. Looking through the difference in the individuals he comes to conclude that the world exhibits opposites meaning thereby that every object is present in abstracts and it is its form. It is evident that they are neither alike nor different from each other. Even after being separate they are related with one another and this relation is established in the form of manifestation by the universal soul which is devoid of all qualities. Criticising the followers of wahdatul wujud he asserts that they are at a loss to understand the relation between the external world and the human beings and the universal soul. In the light of this discussion we may conclude that the Zauq perceives this relation and gives us its knowledge.[4]

Shah Waliullah being a practising sufi emphasises much on the soul. He is of the view that the essence of man and other things is the soul though it differs in category. Keeping it in view he describes different categories of soul namely the animal soul (ruh-haiwani) the rational

soul (nafse natiqa), universal soul (nafse kulliyah), divine soul (ruhe alavi), angelic soul (nafse malakiyah), world soul (ruhe samavi), heavenly soul (nafse falakiyah) and perfect soul (nafse kamila). Apart from them there are some other categories like the mineral soul (nafse madaniya), vegetative soul (nafse nabatiyah). Each of them resides in the matter related to its capacity and is the being of the object. We have discussed these categories in his epistemology, for it stands as the source of knowledge. At present we should point out that there Shah Waliullah echoes Aristotle who, in his book 'De Anima' speaks of different souls and thus discusses the heirarchy of souls. Here Shah Waliullah takes it up partly, for like Aristotle holds that the entire existence comes from one form and it is the universal soul (nafse kulliyah). But, unlike Aristotle, Shah Waliullah does not regard it as the absolute form. He believes in God as the creator of all things. He does not consider God as the form of forms or the absolute form but understands him transcending all. Thus we may conclude that Shah Waliullah seems to be influenced by Aristotle but he is not a mere follower. He has something to add as his own.[5]

Discussing the categories of soul Shah Waliullah also

describes the nature of every one of them and in accordance with their nature they have their own functions to perform. To begin with every one of them is divine but the element of divinity is in accordance with their grades. The animal soul is created out of the temperature and controls the animality. The rational soul is confined to man and controls him as a man. Man possessing both the animal and rational tendencies also has both the souls viz., the animal and the rational and each of them controls the tendencies related to them. As a matter of fact the former is the element of the latter. The universal soul is more divine in nature and manifests itself in different garbs of existence. The mineral, the vegetative, the animal and the rational souls are its manifestation and it manifests itself in accordance with the universal expediency (maslihate kulli).[6]

In his epistemology we have discussed in detail that Shah Waliullah believes in three types of dispositions namely the external (jawarih), the internal (heart, reason and soul), the secret dispositions - the divine soul and the world soul. We have mentioned it here to point out that Shah Waliullah includes the soul in two dispositions, the internal and the secret ones. By doing it he on one hand discusses the hierarchy of soul and on the other points out

that the knowledge of more subtle things cannot be gained by the soul of lower capacity. The divine soul and the world soul though are present in man, yet are not realised until the internal dispositions are not purified and with the help of these dispositions the sufi enables himself to know the secrets of the world and heaven.

Discussing the divine soul Shah Waliullah speaks of a point known as 'hajre bahat' and it is the essence of the divine soul and is realised by a sufi who reaches the stage of pure consciousness (sahwe bahat). Having realised the point he sees through many other secrets which so far remained unknown to him. On the basis of the discussion regarding 'hajre bahat' we may conclude that it is the source of the highest type of intuitive knowledge.[7]

It is obvious that the point mentioned above can be the source of knowledge for the few only. Here again it depends on the stage reached by the sufi. As we know the divine soul is a composite of (1) rational soul, (2) the world soul and (3) the hajre bahat. One of the three dominates the others and the stage of the sufi is determined on the basis of the domination which has been discussed in his epistemology. At present it will suffice to say that the sufi in any of these stages understands the fact

that it is the universal soul which manifests itself in different garbs. Criticising the followers of Wahdatul Wujud Shah Waliullah points out that they could not comprehend this fact and considered the existence to be the manifestation of the One beyond our reach. Besides, he also criticises the followers for not having perceived the relation between the attributes and the substance. Although, as he thinks, there is a unity underlying the diversity, yet it is not of the kind which merges into One. To him the unity is hidden in the opposites. The reason must understand it by seeing the contradictory qualities of the objects which are inherent in their being. The qualities of one are shared by others. It is because that all of them are manifestations of universal soul and being its manifestation there is a resemblance with each other, and on the basis of these similarities they are bound up in a unity. And on the basis of this unity they are related with each other. Thus it is neither the relationship, as understood by the followers of Wahdatul Wujud nor is it the one grasped by the people of wahadatul shahud. Here Shah Waliullah partly supports the unitism by understanding the objects to be the manifestation though not of God but of the universal soul (nafse kulliya) and he differs from

the school by asserting that the complete knowledge of God is a matter of impossibility. We only know a part of the truth.[8]

It is but natural that if these sources of knowledge are perverted, the life as a whole should be affected. During the perversion a person will be unable to know the right thing and thus the wrong would guide his life. It is therefore that Shah Waliullah emphasises on the purification of these dispositions. In case they are properly purified and trained man would lead a virtuous and moral life and the otherwise would perform the evil deeds. Shah Waliullah is of the view that any of these dispositions can be perverted and the perversion of each of them would influence the other. Besides, the perversion of one would result into the creation of a particular evil. Explaining it he holds that if the soul is perverted, man would lead a sexual life; if the heart is perverted, he will be guided by his emotions and the perverted reason would not let him discern the right and wrong. He rightly asserts that the perversion of any of them would effect the other, for all of them work in coordination and if any of them goes astray, the others will also follow it. The purified and trained dispositions would help man

inculcate all the Kernel virtues namely piety (taharat), attention to God (khuzu), detachment (Samahat) and Justice (adalat). On the basis of this discussion we may conclude that the correct knowledge depends on the right sources and if they are untrained and unpurified they cannot lead us to true knowledge. In the case of not being able to get the true knowledge it will be difficult for man to lead a good and virtuous life.

There has been a controversy regarding the Shariah and 'tariqat'. Some of the sufis are of the view that 'tariqat' is more important than the 'Shariah'. It will be worthwhile to mention here, as Shah Waliullah has himself discussed, that the Naqshbandis in particular laid emphasis on it and did not give due importance to Shariah. But as Shah Waliullah thinks that Khwaja Naqshband indeed did not mean it, his followers rather misunderstood him and misinterpreted his thought. It was, therefore, that Shah Waliullah took up to explain the importance of Shariah but it should be borne in mind that he still persists to follow his method of synthesis and consequently affirming the importance of Shariah does not, however, defy the relevance of 'tariqat'. But it stands as a fact that the Shariah being the spirit of Islam is more important.[9]

We deem it to be a very partinent remark that Shah Waliullah had a great insight into human nature. He was completely aware of the fact that in spite of the nature of human beings, which is good in itself, that may be perverted due to the weakness inherited by man from his ancestors. It is for this reason that he vehemently emphasises on the purification and training of the dispositions possessed by man. To him, Shariah is only the way to purify and train these dispositions. Discussing it he holds that there are two aspects of Shariah namely the internal and the external one. The external aspect purifies the five sense (Jawarih). It keeps man refrain from the sins and establishes a system of values. The internal aspect of Shariah purifies man's soul and makes him understand the meaning of vice and virtue. On this basis we may conclude that by following the external aspect man travells on the path of righteousness without any conception and penetration into the validity of his action and following the internal aspect he pursues the right course by being convinced of its righteousness. It comes to mean that Shah Waliullah suggests that righteousness is based on Shariah and it is rather advisable for man to be convinced of leading a life of virtue and goodness, which

as we may conclude, is a matter of impossibility if the dispositions are not purified and trained. Thus the external and the internal aspects purify different dispositions and in accordance with the purification of the dispositions the stage of the salik is determined. For example one whose heart is purified and trained is truthful (siddiq), one whose animality is trained is a man of penitence (zahid), one whose reason is purified is a learned man (rasikhul ilm), and one whose dispositions and senses are not trained but he avoids a life of senses, is righteous (Sahibul yamin).

The chief importance of the Shariah lies in the fact that there are two tendencies in man, namely the animal or sensual tendencies and the rational or angelic tendencies. The former instigate man to the life of sin and profanity and the latter help man to the life of piety and virtue. Shariah being a discipline helps sublime the former tendencies and due to their sublimation man becomes pure and pious. Thus it may be concluded that Shariah enjoys a priority in the inculcation of virtue in the life of man. Moreover, it helps man impart the knowledge. Being the complete discipline it informs man about the right and the wrong. Thus it is established that the Shariah has

ethical and epistemological importance and essentially be acted upon.[10]

Shah Waliullah also emphasises on the habitual obediance to God. Man must obey God not because that He has commanded for it but because we feel an urge of obedience. It can be cultivated in him by worship and prayer. It is necessary, then that the worship and prayer should categorically be performed by man. We have discussed it in detail in his epistemology. It will suffice to say that speaking on the importance of worship Shah Waliullah is of the view that it purifies the disposition and helps man reach a stage. He is right to understand it in this way, for many sufis like Ghazali and others have emphasised on the performance of worship and prayer. Islam itself lays a great emphasis on its performance and considers it to be the duty of man.[11]

Love has a great importance in the sufi discipline. It is rather indispensable for the reason as it begets the flicker of desire in the care of the heart of the sufi. It will not be wrong to say that without love the pursuance of the sufi course for the salik is a matter of impossibility. Like Ghazali and other sufis, Shah Waliullah is also convinced of this fact and that is why he mentions

it as one of the stages of sufi course (suluk).

Having explained the sources of knowledge Shah Waliullah takes up the dangers of getting false knowledge. The first one of them lies in the misunderstanding. Shah Waliullah is of the view that many of the sufis are not capable of understanding the stages of annihilation and subsistence and it is therefore that the scholars of shariah have not explained them. But Shah Waliullah considering it as indispensable takes up to explain them because the sufis of his time were rather confused about these stages and he saw in it a possibility of miscomprehension and chaos.

Discussing the dangers the Shah points out that they are rooted in the sources of knowledge namely the heart, reason and soul. We have described them in his epistemology and need not repeat them here. Shah Waliullah is convinced of the fact that every event has its cause. It should however not be mistaken that he believes in the correspondence theory of causation. Every danger rooted in the sources of knowledge can be eradicated by analysing its cause and, as a matter of fact, as inferred on the basis of his views, the best possible way of its eradication lies in the purification of the dispositions.[12]

Speaking of the dangers Shah Waliullah also asserts that the sufi should be able to know the divine motive. Discussing it he asserts that the urge is created in the world of forms by the universal expediency (maslihate kulli) and is brought to the individuals by the higher angels in the world of forms. The salik must have the capacity of admitting it. He however is informed of the divine motive in different ways. Shah Waliullah speaks of different possibilities which have already been described in his epistemology. Concluding it we may assert that Shah Waliullah presents a complete epistemology. He does not only speak of the sources of knowledge but also suggests as to how the correct and true knowledge can be gained. Alongwith this, he informs of the confusion regarding the use of terminology and also warns of the dangers in the attainment of true knowledge.[13]

At the outset of metaphysics of Shah Waliullah we have taken the problem of synthesis which may rightly be considered as his main contribution in the realm of metaphysics and sufism. By bringing out the synthesis he not only resolved the controversy but also reformed sufism. And this brings us to conclude that he should be given the status enjoyed by Ghazali and others in the

history of Muslim thought. We are of the view that Shah Waliullah was an epoch making person. He did not only influence the people of his age but also left a great deal of it on the generations coming after him. He dominated the political and the social scene of the time and also pondered over the philosophical problems regarded as actue in the history of Muslim philosophy. One of them was the controversy between the two schools of sufism, namely wahdatul wujud and wahdatul shahud. He took up to resolve the controversy neither by rejecting any of them nor by propounding any other school but by seeking a reconciliation between the too. And, as history witnesses, he was successful in his efforts. His philosophical writings could earn for him a good deal of fame and reputation. Besides, he was honoured as a renowned traditionist and an erudite scholar of jurisprudence.[14]

Shah Waliullah did not attempt only at finding out similarities between the above mentioned schools of sufism but he also tried to resolve the controversies in different realms, namely shariat and tariqat and various schools of jurisprudence (fiqah). We have mentioned it to prove that for Shah Waliullah synthesis was a method and he applied it in his various writings on different

subjects. This work only discusses the synthesis of the described schools. Shah Waliullah puts forward convincing arguments to point out that wujudiyat and shahudiyat are the two stages and as the shahudiyat has been propounded in a latter period of history, it is a higher stage. It should be borne in mind that Mujaddid Alf Thani also holds the same opinion but his followers reject one and propound the other. But Shah Waliullah does not take himself to any such thing. Contrary to this, he explains that they, being the stages should not be rejected. Shah Waliullah is of the view that the place of a thought in the history should be determined and having determined it we should try to understand the development of knowledge. He holds that every age has its own span of knowledge and whatever is written in it is undoubtedly in accordance with the comprehension made possible on the basis of its development. Putting it more explicitly he asserts that the people belonging to different ages have their own domain of perception which categorically depends on the standard of the knowledge developed in that age. In brief, one come to conclude that Shah Waliullah does not reject the thought of any of his elders. Instead of it he respects all of them and resolve the controversy by saying that

they should be understood by placing in history, their time is the most suitable determinant of their value. It is suggestive of the fact that Shah Waliullah believes in the development of knowledge in a positive direction and is also convinced of the increasing complexities of the ages and knowledge itself.[15]

Discussing the similarities between the two schools Shah Waliullah proceeds on saying that Truth is one and so vast that it cannot be claimed to have achieved it fully. As a matter of fact the truth even after being one is an ocean in itself and the seeker, inspite of his all efforts, gets only a drop and is contented with it. Explaining it he presents the traditional analogy of the birds taking water from the spring drop by drop with their beaks and a traditional example of blind men having felt the parts of the tree. Each of them considered the part as whole. By presenting these examples Shah Waliullah aims at asserting that in the first case the truth stands beyond our reach and in the second phase it has been mistakenly understood. The anology shows the vastness of the truth and the example gives us a clue of the miscomprehension of its seekers. In the first case it undoubtedly stands as convincible and in the second, as

Shah Waliullah himself asserts, a man of sound vision may correct the mistake. This assertion is suggestive of the fact that the followers of 'wujud' and 'shuhud' have not grasped, as they cannot, the whole truth and have mistaken by considering it as a whole when in fact, it is only a part. In the man of sound vision we see the projection of Shah Waliullah's personality. In our opinion he does not only claim to have understood the t ruth but he infact did probe in it and apprehended its reality. He realised the vastness of the truth on one hand and its misinterpretation based on, if we can say in Moore's language, naturalistic falacy on the other. He was the first man to point out that the controversy carried no weight and could easily be resolved if the philosophy of the two schools was placed in the historical perspective. Thus Shah Waliullah helped the scholars a great deal by making them realise the futility of the controversy.[16]

Explaining the similarities between wujud and shuhud Shah Waliullah brings to light a very important discussion. He begins it by asserting that the existence and concept are separable and are different on the basis of the qualities. The existence in concept is an abstract existence and the existence perceived is characterised by

some qualities and the most important of them are the objectivity and the existence itself. Shah Waliullah has made a contribution by pointing out the qualities in the objects. It should also be borne in mind that he does not speak of the common and essential qualities but is also aware of the qualities which make an object an individual. Thus it is suggestive of the fact that the objects possess two types of qualities namely : (1) the common and essential qualities and (2) the individual qualities and both running through the objects make it what it is perceived. The existence is a common and essential quality of the objects. It runs through all the bodies and thus it unites them all. It is on this basis that the unityism or wujudiyat is supported by Shah Waliullah. Writing about the Shuhudiyat, Shah Waliullah agrees with the Mujaddid on the point of the existence of the opposites but he does not agree with him when he asserts that the world is not the manifestation but the reflection of the attributes. To Shah Waliullah the difference between the two ~~in~~ statements is the difference of interpretations. Shah Waliullah again points out that the Mujaddid is right to assert that the appeared and the appearing, i.e. reflected and the reflecting are different. It is on the will of

the reflecting to reflect as long as it desires. That is to say that the image formed after reflection rests in the body reflecting and it remains in the mirror so long as body is present before it. In spite of its being the image of the same body it cannot however be asserted that the two are identical. Ibne Arabi, as Shah Waliullah thinks, perceived this identity in the state of ecstacy on which the distinction between the two namely God and the world is not clear due to the over powering of the rapturous condition of the sufi. Thus Shah Waliullah points out that the followers should understand the state of Ibne Arabi and pass on to others by considering it to be one of the many states of the sufi course (Suluk) and it can be possible only by the right placement of the thought in the historical perspective.[17]

Writing about sufism Shah Waliullah points out the importance of sufi practices. He philosophically explains the two aspects of Islam namely the external and the internal, the Shariah and Ihsan (beautification). Each one of them is formed by different types of people i.e. (1) the reformers, Mujaddids etc. and (2) by sufis. It will not be out of place to mention here that the sufis have really rendered a great service for the advent of

Islam. It is not mere a proposition but a fact based on the historical evidences. It should be taken as a contribution that Shah Waliullah discusses the development of sufism. Not only this, he also points out the nature of the phases and also informs us about their importance. Having described it he comes to the important problem of travelling (suluk). Differing from those, whom he does not name, he defines suluk as the will of God and also points out its different stages. On the basis of his discussion we may conclude that travelling (suluk) is the course desired by God on which a traveller should go for the union with him. Shah Waliullah also points out the importance of repetition (awrad) and prayers (wazaif) in the sufi course. Apart from it, he discusses absorption (Jazb). It is evident that absorption (Jazb) is more significant in the sufi practices.[18]

Having described it Shah Waliullah comes to discuss different attributes which are acquired by a sufi with the help of his repetitive efforts. To present a brief of them we shall give only their names :

1) attribute of piety : It is indeed necessary for a sufi in particular and for the people in general. Cleanliness has been adorned by almost all the religions.

2) Attribute of Relief (Nisbate Sakina) : The secret of this attribute lies in the contentment and relief of the heart. It can be acquired in three phases; (1) by rememberance of God, (2) by inclusion of mercy (shumule rahmat) and (3) by the admittance of the light of the divine names.

3) Thereafter he discusses the Owaisia attribute which is acquired by seeking the proximity with the angelic or the sufi souls.[19]

Discussing the attribute of memory Shah Waliullah points out a very important thing. He holds that the knowledge of the object is gained with the help of the images. It is important because the modern psychologists of our times also share the same view and when one comes across Shah Waliullah's thought he feels himself bound to admire his genius. Shah Waliullah also describes the importance of love. It, as we know, has a great importance in sufism and almost all the sufis have emphasised on its importance. It is the only way which leads to gnosis.

In the philosophy of Shah Waliullah we often find the references of the world of forms. He is of the view that every object is the copy or manifestation of its form. It goes to suggest that Shah Waliullah is influenced by

Plato who names these forms as ideas. Like his ideas the forms of Shah Waliullah are also not present in this world but in another to which he, however, does not call the supernatural one. But its being supernatural may be concluded with no difficulty.[20]

Besides, Shah Waliullah often speaks of the attributes of God. He neither thinks them to be other than His essence nor he considers them excluded from His essence. In our opinion he shares Ibne Arabi and considers essence over and aobve the attributes. Putting it in brief, Shah Waliullah points out that his attributes should be understood as simile but one should be careful to unfold it.[21]

Like many Greek and Muslim philosophers Shah Waliullah also bases his ethics on metaphysics. In the introduction of the Chapter on his ethics we have strongly supported our contention by giving the example of Greek and Muslim philosophers. We need not repeat them here. His ethical philosophy is rooted in metaphysics. We shall also not be wrong to conclude that the code of conduct he recommends, is mystical in nature. It is rather indispensable for he himself was a practising sufi and thereby must have prescribed the sufi way of life.

Ethics by definition is tne science of right and

wrong meaning thereby the vice and virtue. Shah Waliullah understanding its nature begins it with the definition of virtue. He is of the opinion that every object whether animate or inanimate possesses some attributes (Kamalat). Discussing them he holds that there are two types of attributes (Kamalat) namely the natural or the innate ones and the acquired ones. In the case of inanimate object it may evidently be inferred that there arises no question of any acquired attributes. They must possess only the innate or the natural ones. It is in the case of man and some other higher animals that some attributes are acquired. The presence of innate attributes is essential in all the species though it is evident that there would be a difference in accordance with the nature of the things. Even after that there are some qualities (Kamalat) which are common in the species. Shah Waliullah gives many examples of these common and essential qualities in different species, and in them he speaks of the common and essential qualities inherited by different species. Some of them are shared by man and inanimate objects, some of them are common in man and plants, and others are shared by man and animals. These common and essential qualities shared by different species cannot be counted as their virtues for they are in

their very being or in other words innate. Their possession cannot be considered as something specific which can separate them on their basis as virtuous or vicious. These qualities can be regarded as virtues in the case of species without which their existence is a matter of impossibility. In our opinion a hill without height cannot be imagined. Thus height can be taken as the virtue of a hill. But, as Shah Waliullah rightly remarks that it cannot be taken as virtue, for it is present in the very nature or innate in it, and if at all it is counted as virtue the hill possesses it the most. On this basis we may infer that man also shares the attribute of height. But on the very same grounds it is not a virtue at all. Similarly the qualities common between plants, animals and man can also not be counted as virtue, for they also are innate and their presence is essential. We have described these attributes in his ethics and it will be mere repetition if we discuss them here again.

Having spoken of the common and essential qualities Shah Waliullah discusses the attributes particularly possessed by man alone. Some of them are, for example the high morale, courage and good efforts. To Shah Waliullah they are partial virtues, for many of them are possessed

by higher animals. Courage is one of the examples. There comes then the question as to what the virtue is. The answer to this question as Shah Waliullah thinks, is that virtue is one controlled by soul and desired by reason. We may conclude that the acquired attributes are the virtues. They too are present in the nature of man but are not realised unless attempted at and hence are counted as the acquired ones. Moreover, they are virtues because they control the animal and sensual tendencies harmful for the conduct of man.[22]

It is but indispensable that the virtue is embodied in the action, and every action cannot, however, be regarded as virtuous. It is obvious and requires no clarity. Shah Waliullah, admitting the fact, speaks of two types of actions namely one related to the world and the other related to divinity. Both the types of action are potential in man and he realises to perform them when the time demands. Courage, for example is shown at the time of danger, otherwise it lies hidden as potentiality and does not come forth unless demanded. Similar is the case with other actions related to the world. Shah Waliullah is of the opinion that these actions are virtues but not in the real sense. And it is also evident that all

of them cannot be regarded as virtue (Saadat) for many of them belong to the animal tendencies which in no way do any good to mankind. The second type of actions, as Shah Waliullah holds, are also potential in man, and since they are concerned with divinity and are the qualities of man alonge are held as virtue in the real sense.[23]

Like the modern psycholǎgists, Shah Waliullah speaks of the two types of tendencies in man, namely, the rational or angelic tendencies and the animal tendencies. Not only the psychologists, the philosophers of different ages have admitted this fact. Aristotle, for example, recognises these tendencies present in man, but he distinguishes them on the basis of reason or in other words the rational tendencies, and that is why he calls man as the rational animal. It is explicit that he calls him animal due to the presence of animality in him. Shah Waliullah also acknowledges, as we have earlier pointed out, these two tendencies in man but for him as well the reason remains as the distinguishing force between man and the animal. Supporting our contention we may point out that it is, therefore that he lays much emphasis on the dominance of rational or angelic tendencies and it is for this reason that he considers the second kind of actions as the virtue

in the real sense as they consist in prayer and penitence and are related to the angelic or rational tendencies. It is thus clear that Shah Waliullah, like many other philosophers and psychologists, considers reason to be the share of man alone.[24]

It also stands as a fact that for being a man animality must be sublimated. And it is therefore that the philosophers have suggested different ways for its suppression. The Ishraqis, for example, as Shah Waliullah himself mentions, preferred to destroy it completely. But it is rather difficult for a man to do it and so Shah Waliullah prefers another way which in our opinion, is more psychological and suitable to the human nature. He holds that the complete destruction of animality is a matter of impossibility but it is true that it can be sublimated to a great extent and when it will be suppressed it is evident that the angelic or rational tendencies which we may call the divinity would dominate and its domination would result into the cultivation of the virtue in the real sense (saadat) belonging to the second category of actions. Here Shah Waliullah shares many other philosphers which he does not mention. However, the way which he suggests is more practicable even for the common

man to make him virtuous and it is, indeed helpful in the realisation of Saada, the virtue in the real sense. As we know, Ghazali has also used the word 'saadaat' but he uses it for the end which also includes in its perview the means by which the end is achieved. For Shah Waliullah 'Saadat' is the virtue which consists in the cultivation of the habit of performing the second type of actions meaning thereby the prayer and the penitence.[25]

The second type of actions lead to the creation of following virtues which must necessarily be possessed by a virtuous man. Shah Waliullah names them as (1) purity (Taharat), (2) humility (Ijz), (3) detachment (Samahat), and (4) justice (Adalat). All of these virtues are cultivated voluntarily and when man becomes habitual of them, he feels uneasiness in their absence. It should not however taken to mean that Islam advocates for a complete detachment or segregation from desires but it does plead that man should not engage himself in the pursuit of wordly pleasures to the extent that he should forget the life hereafter. Islam, thus being a practical religion, prescribes a way of life which touches neither of the extremes.[26]

In spite of the fact the sufis in general have

preferred the life of detachment or at least they have not indulged themselves in the worldly desires at the cost of the blessings of God meaning thereby that they have led a life of piety and penitence. As it has earlier been discussed that many of the sufis believed in 'tariqat'. In connection with this the 'Naqshbandis' have already been referred. Those following the path of tariqat always led a life of complete detachment for the reason that attachment to the world creates disturbance in the prayers, penitence and remembrance of God. Detachment thus becomes the most important virtue which is a must in the case of a Salik. It will be worthwhile if we mention Ghazali in this connection. Having taught in the University of Baghdad for a long time his doubts regarding the knowledge he had gained forced him to leave that life and he went to seclusion to lead a life of complete detachment and segregation. Having lived for a long in this state he came back to the institution with more clarity and better realisation of truth. Thus detachment has been the source of knowledge not only for Ghazali but also for many other sufis and saints. Buddha may also be referred in the same connection.[27]

Shah Waliullah being a practising sufi advocates

for the cultivation of this virtue. As we are aware of his life, he never lived in a complete detachment and segregation but it also stands as a fact that he was never inclined towards the life of luxury and sensual pleasures. It may thus be concluded from his biography that the detachment he pleads for is the one advocated by Shariah.[28]

Shah Waliullah is of the view that man should detach himself in all walks of life. He also speaks of the different terms used for it in different fields we have already discussed them in his ethics.

The last of these four cardinal virtues is justice (adalat). It is the virtue which enables man for administration. Regarding it Shah Waliullah holds that the objectives of administration are in the world of angels or the world of souls (alame malakut). The human soul has the capacity to acquire the attribute of administration. Since man does not possess, the ability to know the will of God regarding the administration, God, therefore, sends prophets to teach man His rules which are in accordance with His will. It may be concluded that the selected ones, as we know all of them do not, are able to acquire this quality and they alone should have the privilege to look after the administration so that the nation may

thrive and be benefitted by his capacities and abilities.[29]

Regarding this virtue, if perusively analysed we can safely assert that Shah Waliullah seems to echo Plato and Ghazali. Plato in his 'Republic' holds justice to be the highest virtue and on its basis, is of the opinion that the philosopher should be the king of his ideal state. Shah Waliullah does not advocate the legacy of the Philosophers in the matter of kingship nor does he consider that justice (adalat) is the highest kind of virtue. To him, however, it is, as it has been said, one of the cardial virtues and like Plato he also holds that the selected human souls are able to acquire the attribute of justice which helps them look after the administration. Imam Ghazali discusses in detail these cardinal virtues and Shah Waliullah repeatedly mentions the book of Ghazali, 'Ihya-ul-ulum'. This shows the impact of Ghazalian thought on Shah Waliullah. Shah Waliullah considers the above described virtues as the cardial ones, but along with it he also ponders over other actions which are either to be taken as virtues or as sins. In his ethics he first takes up the actions held as virtues.

The first one of them is the belief in the unity of God. He considers it as one of the essential virtues to be possessed by man or he would not be taken to be a Muslim.

Describing it he speaks of the stages, namely the belief in the unity of God (1) as the only existence, (2) as the only creator, (3) as the only designer of the universe and (4) as the only one to be worshipped.[30]

In the light of his discussion on the unity of God we shall not be wrong to infer that Shah Waliullah advocates for a perfect belief in His unity. By describing the stages he means to point out that God is the only one in all respects and there is none to share him at any stage. Like him, Ghazali also speaks of the same stages.

The second of these virtuous actions is the belief in the attributes of God. All the Muslims and the followers of different religious believe in His attributes and have interpreted them in a very controversial way. In dealing with Shah Waliullah's metaphysics we have already referred to the controversy regarding the attributes and the essence in the schools of Muslim philosophy. Such controversies, however, are found in other religions as well. There is no doubt that they are different in nature. Shankra, for example, advocates the belief in the God without attributes (Nirgun Bramha) and considers him to be really Real. Shah Waliullah also takes up the problem and present his own solution. He considers the attributes to

be the similies which should carefully be unfolded. Due to the difficulties he agrees with the Islamic view that the common man should not contemplate over them. Besides, he also describes their categories namely (1) the attributes allowed to be thought over by Shariah, (2) the attributes disallowed to be thought over by Shariah, and (3) the attributes to be thought over as per necessity. For instance, laughing (zahak), happiness (farhat) etc. belong to the first category; sobbing and lamenting are included in the second category; and the attributes like that of knowledge such as seeing, hearing etc. come under the perview of the third category. By giving these categories Shah Waliullah means to point out that belief in the attributes is necessary but the ponderance on them may mislead the people. Summing it up, we may come to conclude that Shah Waliullah was aware of the controversies and also had an insight in the difficulties to be faced by the people in general if they contemplate over them. And it is, therefore, that he considers them as similes, and thus he points out the difference between the actual and like actual. One should not, however, be mistaken as the other.[31]

Shah Waliullah is of the opinion that the destiny

is greatest of all virtues. In order to support his contention he cites certain traditions which we have mentioned in his ethics. Besides, he also speaks of its five stages namely (1) the stage of form, (2) the stage of number, (3) stage of Adam's creation of and his posterity, (4) stage of the fusion of the soul into the foetus and (5) it is the stage when the events happening in the world of matter are recorded in the world of heaven. From the discussion of these stages it is clear that Shah Waliullah professes a staunch belief in destiny and advocates it with the same force and firmness. The stages categorically suggest that Shah Waliullah does not believe in complete freedom of will but it should also be taken into account that he neither denies the freedom of man. He is of the view that in spite of the determinism man has been given the power of choice and this implies that he is responsible for his right and wrong deeds. It can, however, be affirmed that in all stage of destiny described here every thing regarding man has been destined. The affirmation would be true and it would lead us to conclude that the power of choice is also destined and being the destiny of man he should be held responsible for the right and wrong. Putting it in brief, it may be

concluded that Shah Waliullah, like Asharites, advocates semi determinism or the determined freedom.[32]

In the discussion of virtues, Shah Waliullah also takes up worship. He regards it as one of the greatest virtues man should cultivate in him for it benefits him and satisfies his nature. Shah Waliullah repeatedly emphasises on the importance of worship. He regards it essential for the training of senses and it but has also brought to light its types. He regards the pagans as polytheists. He thinks those to be the same who worship the planets, and what actually draws our attention is that he also considers Christians as polytheists. Christianity, as we know, is one of the semetic religions and has preached monism but there is no doubt that the monism in Christianity is much like the monotheism, for it advocates the belief in the unity in Trinity. Shah Waliullah and other Muslim thinkers, however, could not agree with this unity for the Holy Quran categorically asserts that there is none to share God. He has neither begotten anyone nor has been begotten by anyone. The followers of Christianity believe that the Christ is the son of God. The belief is against the contents of the Holy Quran and cannot, therefore, be held by Muslims. Moreover being the son means sharing

Godhood and any such proposition would certainly lead to polytheism. It is therefore that Shah Waliullah considers Christians as polytheists.

As Islam categorises, Shah Waliullah also classifies the sins as the major and the minor ones.[33]

Apart from it, he speaks of other virtuous actions like prayer (salat), fasting (saum), holy tax (zakat) pilgrimage to Mecca (haj), holy war (jahad), ablution (wazu), bathing (ghusl). In addition to this he also describes the secrets lying behind these virtues.[34]

Shah Waliullah has given a complete system of ethics. He has not discussed the virtues alone but has also described the vices. At the outset of the discussion of the vices he takes up polytheism. It means that to him it is the greatest evil and must, therefore, be eradicated from the society. We shall not be wrong to assert that many of the religions, particularly the semitic ones have attempted at its eradication and become successful to a great extent. As a consequece to this, a great number of people profess a belief in monism or unitarianism, but even after that polytheism is practised and has invited the attention of the philosophers like Shah Waliullah. He has not only discussed dispositions, and also considers it

necessary for building up a higher moral conduct. He is of the view that the worship should be performed by will and not by habit. Here he explains the meaning of will. The power of will lies in the power of choice. He explains it by criticising the philosophers that the will implies doing and not doing of an action, and before it is done or not done it does not mean anything, meaning thereby that the action is prior to will, its performance depends on it. Thus he explains that the action is prior to will. It is created by God, first in world of forms and then in the world of objects and man chooses its doing or not doing. And worship being one of the virtuous actions should be chosen by man by his own will. Rationalising it further he asserts that (1) God should be worshipped as He has created man, (2) He should be worshipped as He rewards the virtuous and punishes the vicious. In addition to this, he also takes up the problem whether the sinner will be redeemed. Explaining it he is of the view that there should be a difference between an atheist, a pagan, and a believer, and as they are different in stages, they should be dealt with differently in the life hereafter. In this connection he presents an analogy of a bird in a cage. We need not repeat it here, however, on the basis of this

discussion Shah Waliullah comes to conclude that the believer and the non-believer cannot be treated on equal footings. His view is supported by the tradition that some will be burnt in the fire of hell, others will face its blazes and still others will be tortured for sometime and thereafter redeemed. Thus it is evident that the sinner is distinguished from the non-believer and will be redeemed after a sufficient torture for his misdeeds. The same controversy he resolves by pointing out that there are two types of actions namely (ia) voluntary, (ib) involuntary and (2) laws. They are also of two types, (i) necessary and (ii) probable. Explaining it he gives the example of a statement of a person declaring that the poison necessarily causes death. The other defies the statement and challenges its necessity. To him a person taking poison may survive. Thus in one case it is necessary, and in the other it is probable. The example suggests that the necessity and probability a    relative. What is necessary in the case of man may be probable in the case of God. To make it explicit we should take up the proposition that God rewards the virtue and punishes the vice but He can do otherwise. Let us refer here to Mutazilites who considered it as necessary, and, again, to Asharites who thought it

to be probable meaning thereby what is necessary may either be probable in the case of God as He is all powerful and cannot be bound. On this basis we may conclude that Shah Waliullah suggests that a sinner may be forgiven. The position that he takes up is the one taken by the Asharites, but the difference lies in its explanation.[35]

In addition to the other perversions brought about by the sin, it effects the outward behaviour of man. As he lives in the society he must behave in a way which does not affect the institution, and if he does not do so, not only the society but he too will be affected and the development of both, man and society will be hampered. Thus the reformation in the outward behaviour is a must. In our opinion, most of the religions attempt at wiping out the social evils, so that man and society may progress.[36]

The second cause consists in the blessing and curse of the higher angels in 'khatiratul quds'. Their blessing is reward and their curse is punishment. Shah Waliullah clarifies it saying that finally God blesses the virtuous and penalises the vicious. Man having the power of choice earns any one of them for himself. Rationalising it, he holds that every creature feels contented and relieved if it does in accordance with its nature and if it acts

otherwise it feels suffocation and torture. The same is true in the case of man. He possesses the divine disposition (Latifae noorani) which is the case of his nature, consequently, he must perform the actions satisfying this disposition. If his actions correspond to his nature, he feels satisfaction, and if the case is otherwise, he feels torture and pain. On the basis of this discussion we may conclude that Shah Waliullah is of the view that man is good by his nature, and he may remain so if the sensuality does not dominate his divinity. But the mundane pleasures often lead him to indulge in the acts of sensuality and so he feels dissatisfied and discontented. Shah Waliullah also points out that the reward brings delight and the punishment leads to abhorrence and torture.[37]

In the light of the previous discussion we may conclude that Shah Waliullah presents a complete system of ethics. Regarding virtue he is of the view that it will be determined in accordance with the species. The virtue in the case of other species of animals will be the innate attributes (Kamalate naui) and in case of man it will be determined on the basis of acquiring those qualities helping the dominance of divinity present in the essence of man. Regarding destiny it has been

ascertained that he advocates semi-determinism. Shah Waliullah does not reject the principle of reward and punishment, instead of it he holds that God being the knower of all things also knows the destiny of man which he will choose for himself in his future. Shah Waliullah is also of the view that blessing and curse of God depends on His will. Like Asharites he never likes to limit the powers of God in any sphere. In our opinion Shah Waliullah, by considering man to be good by nature, presents an ideal of man who is perfect in all respects and that man is Prophet Muhammad (Insan-i-Kamil).

To conclude the resume, we may assert that Shah Waliullah presents a compact philosophy which is dominated by sufism. He has not only influenced his contemporaries but also the later generations. And for a long time the Indian Muslim thinkers have been interpreting his philosophy. Their interpretations require a perusive study which I wish to take up thereafter.

CHAPTER I

1. Nomani, Mohd. Manzoor Ed ;
   Alfurqan (Monthly) - Shah Waliullah Number
   (Bareilly Electric Press Bareilly, 1359 H.
   Ramzan - Zilhij) PP. 17-40
2. Rahim Bakhsh, Abu Mohammad ;
   Hayate Wali
   (Afzalul Matabe wa Afzalul Akbar, Delhi
   1319 H.) PP. 8-11
3. Ibid. PP. 113-21
4. Ibid. PP. 122-23
5. Ibid. PP. 219-21
6. Ibid. PP. 222-23
7. Ibid. P. 231
8. Nomani, Mohd. Manzoor Ed ;
   Alfurqan (Monthly) - Shah Waliullah Number
   (Bareilly Electric Press Bareilly, 1359 H.
   Ramzan - Zilhij), P. 18
9. Rahim Bakhsh, Abu Mohammad ;
   Hayate Wali
   (Afzalul Matabe wa Afzalul Akbar, Delhi
   1319 H.) P. 224
10. Ibid. P. 233
11. Ibid. P. 233
12. Ibid. P. 235
13. Ibid. P. 261
14. Ibid. PP. 295-319

## CHAPTER II

1. Shah Waliullah :
   Altaful Quds, Tr. by Zaheeruddin, Syed - with original Persian text (Matba Ahmadi, Delhi), P. 13
2. Ibid P. 4
3. Shah Waliullah :
   Alfauzul Kabir, Tr. by Ansari, Rashid Ahmad (Maktaba Burhan, Delhi), PP. 4-18
4. Shah Waliullah :
   Altaful Quda, Tr. by Zaheeruddin, Syed - with original persim text (Matba Ahmadi, Delhi), P. 7
5. Ibid. P. 8
6. Ibid. PP. 9-11
7. Ibid. PP. 17-18
8. Ibid. PP. 18-19
9. Ibid. PP. 20-22
10. Ibid. P. 93
10.a Ibid. P. 94
10.b Ibid. P. 95
11. Ibid. P. 88
12. Ibid. PP. 89-92
13. Ibid. PP. 8-12
14. Ibid. PP. 71-72
15. Ibid. PP. 73-74
16. Ibid. P. 75
17. Ibid. PP. 76-77
18. Ibid. P. 78
19. Ibid. P. 79-81
20. Ibid. PP. 81-82
21. Ibid. PP. 82-83
22. Ibid. P. 84
23. Ibid. PP. 83-84
24. Ibid. P. 88
25. Ibid. P. 27
26. Ibid. P. 26

27. Ibid. P. 24
28. Ibid. PP. 25-26
29. Ibid. PP. 27-29
30. Ibid. PP. 30-31
31. Ibid. PP. 31-32
32. Ibid. P. 32
33. Ibid. PP. 33-34
34. Ibid. P. 35
35. Ibid. P. 38
36. Ibid. P. 39
37. Ibid. P. 40
38. Ibid. PP. 40-41
39. Ibid. P. 42
40. Ibid. PP. 57-58
41. Ibid. PP. 64-65
42. Ibid. P. 66
43. Ibid. PP. 66-67
44. Ibid. PP. 67-68
45. Ibid. P. 45
46. Ibid. PP. 49-50
47. Ibid. PP. 41-42
48. Ibid. P. 66
49. Ibid. PP. 60-61
50. Ibid. P. 63
51. Ibid. P. 80
52. Ibid. P. 75
53. Ibid. PP. 108-109
54. Ibid. P. 110
55. Ibid. PP. 111-112
56. Ibid. P. 113
57. Ibid. P. 114
58. Ibid. PP. 114-115

CHAPTER III - SECTION I

1. Afifi, A. E. :
   The Mystical Philosophy of Muhiuddin Ibnul Arabi (Cambridge University Press, London), P. 1
2. Ibid. P. 1
3. Ibid. P. 2
4. Ibid. P. 2
5. Ibid. P. 2
6. Ibid. P. 3
7. Ibid. P. 3
8. Ibid. P. 3
9. Ibid. P. 4
10. Ibid. P. 4
11. Ibid. P. 8
12. Ibid. P. 9
13. Ibid. P. 10
14. Ibid. P. 11
15. Ibid. PP. 11-12
16. Ibid. PP. 12-13
17. Ibid. P. 13
18. Ibid. P. 15
19. Ibid. P. 16
20. Ibid. PP. 17-21
21. Ibid. PP. 21-22
22. Ibid. P. 23
23. Ibid. PP. 23-24
24. Ibid. PP. 24-25
25. Ibid. P. 25
26. Ibid. PP. 25-26
27. Ibid. PP. 27-28
28. Ibid. P. 29
29. Ibid. P. 29
30. Ibid. PP. 30-31

31. Ibid. P. 31
32. Ibid. PP. 32-33
33. Ibid. PP. 35-36 ; Shah Waliullah
 Futuh P. 295
34. Ibid. PP. 37-38 ; Ibid. P. 212
35. Ibid. P. 38
36. Ibid. P. 39
37. Ibid. P. 39
38. Ibid. P. 40 ; Shah Waliullah
 Fusuh P. 386
39. Ibid. P. 41
40. Ibid. PP. 42-45
41. Ibid. P. 45
42. Ibid. P. 46
43. Ibid. P. 46
44. Ibid. PP. 46-47
45. Ibid. PP. 47-48
46. Ibid. PP. 48-51
47. Ibid. PP. 52-53
48. Ibid. P. 54
49. Ibid. PP. 54-55
50. Ibid. P. 55
51. Ibid. P. 56
52. Ibid. PP. 62-64

CHAPTER III - SECTION II

1. Farooqi, Burhanuddin :
   Mujaddid's conception of Tawhid
   (Sh. Mohd. Ashraf, Publisher, Lahore), PP. 86-88
2. Ibid. PP. 89-90
3. Ibid. P. 91
4. Ibid. P. 92
5. Ibid. PP. 93-94
6. Ibid. P. 95
7. Ibid. PP. 97-98
8. Ibid. PP. 100-101
9. Ibid. PP. 102-103
10. Ibid. PP. 104-106
11. Ibid. PP. 107-109
12. Ibid. PP. 110-112
13. Ibid. PP. 112-113
14. Ibid. P. 114
15. Ibid. PP. 115-117
16. Ibid. PP. 118-119
17. Ibid. PP. 121-124
18. Ibid. PP. 126-127
19. Ibid. PP. 128-129
20. Ibid. PP. 130-132
21. Ibid. PP. 133-136
22. Ibid. PP. 137-138

CHAPTER III - SECTION III

1. Kamali, Sabih Ahmad :
   Types of Islamic Thought
   (Institute of Islamic Studies, AMU., Aligarh)
   P. 112
2. Ibid. P. 112
3. Ibid. P. 113
4. Ibid. P. 113
5. Ibid. P. 114
6. Ibid. P. 114
7. Ibid. PP. 114-115
8. Ibid. PP. 115-116
9. Ibid. P. 116
10. Nomani, Mohd. Manzoor :
    Alfurqan (Monthly) - Shah Waliullah Number
    (Bareilly Electric Press Bareilly -
    Ramzan-Zilhij 1359 H.) P. 17
11. Kamali, Sabihuddin Ahmad
    Types of Islamic Thought
    (Institute of Islamic Studies, AMU., Aligarh)
    P. 14
    Shah Waliullah :
    Maktube Madani Urdu Tr. by Nadvi, Mohd. Hanif
    (Idara-e-Saqafate Islamia, Lahore), P. 4
12. Nomani, Mohd. Manzoor :
    Alfurqan (Monthly) - Shah Waliullah Number
    (Bareilly Electric Press Bareilly -
    Ramzan - Zilhij 1359 H.), PP. 17-40
13. Shah Waliullah :
    Hujjatullah al Baligha Tr. by A. H. Hazarvi
    with original Arabic text Vol. I
    (Matba Himayate Islam, Lahore), PP. 78-79.
14. Nomani, Mohd. Manzoor
    Alfurqan (Monthly) - Shah Waliullah Number
    (Bareilly Electric Press Bareilly -
    Ramzan - Zilhij 1359 H.), PP. 20

15. Shah Waliullah ;
Maktabe Madani, Urdu Tr. by Nadvi, Mohd. Hanif, (Idara-e-Saqafate Islamia, Lahore), P. 3
16. Ibid. P. 5
17. Ibid. P. 6
18. Ibid. PP. 6-7
19. Ibid. PP. 7-9
20. Ibid. PP. 9-10
21. Ibid. PP. 10-11
22. Ibid. PP. 12-13
23. Ibid. P. 13
24. Ibid. PP. 13-14
25. Ibid. P. 15
26. Ibid. PP. 15-16
27. Ibid. PP. 17-18
28. Ibid. P. 23
29. Ibid. P. 19
30. Ibid. P. 23
31. Ibid. P. 20
32. Ibid. P. 24
33. Ibid. P. 22
34. Ibid. PP. 22-23
35. Ibid. P. 25
36. Ibid. PP. 25-26
37. Ibid. PP. 26-27
38. Ibid. P. 28
39. Ibid. P. 29
40. Ibid. PP. 29-30
41. Ibid. P. 31
42. Ibid. P. 32
43. Ibid. P. 32
44. Ibid. P. 33
45. Ibid. PP. 33-34
46. Ibid. P. 34
47. Ibid. P. 35

CHAPTER XV

1. Shah Waliullah :
Hamaat Urdu Tr. by Obaidullah Sindhi
(Maktaba Rahmania, Deoband), PP. 60-61
2. Ibid. PP. 62-63
3. Ibid. P. 63
4. Ibid. PP. 64-65
5. Ibid. PP. 66-69
6. Ibid. PP. 70-72
7. Ibid. PP. 72-74
8. Ibid. PP. 74-75
9. Ibid. PP. 78-79
10. Ibid. PP. 79-81
11. Ibid. PP. 82-84
12. Ibid. PP. 84-85
13. Ibid. PP. 85-86
14. Ibid. PP. 86-87
15. Ibid. PP. 88-90
16. Ibid. PP. 91-96
17. Ibid. PP. 97-98
18. Ibid. PP. 98-101
19. Ibid. P. 102
20. Ibid. P. 103
21. Ibid. PP. 103-106
22. Ibid. PP. 106-108
23. Ibid. PP. 109-112
24. Ibid. PP. 111-112
25. Ibid. P. 113
26. Ibid. PP. 113-114
27. Ibid. P. 114
28. Ibid. P. 115
29. Ibid. PP. 115-116
30. Ibid. PP. 116-117

31. Ibid. PP. 117-118
32. Ibid. P. 119
33. Ibid. P. 120
34. Ibid. P. 120-121
35. Ibid. PP. 121-122
36. Ibid. P. 122
37. Ibid. P. 122
38. Ibid. P. 123
39. Ibid. PP. 123-124
40. Ibid. P. 125
41. Ibid. PP. 126-127
42. Ibid. P. 128
43. Ibid. PP. 129-130
44. Ibid. PP. 130-133
45. Ibid. P. 134
46. Ibid. P. 135
47. Ibid. P. 135
48. Ibid. PP. 136-138
49. Ibid. PP. 140-142
50. Ibid. P. 143
51. Ibid. PP. 143-144
52. Ibid. PP. 144-145
53. Ibid. P. 145
54. Ibid. PP. 146-148
55. Ibid. PP. 149-151
56. Ibid. P. 153
57. Ibid. PP. 154-155
58. Ibid. PP. 156-158
59. Ibid. PP. 158-59
60. Ibid. PP. 159-60
61. Ibid. PP. 161-162
62. Ibid. P. 163
63. Ibid. PP. 163-164
64. Ibid. PP. 165-168
65. Ibid. PP. 168-170

66. Ibid. P. 180
67. Ibid. P. 186
68. Ibid. PP. 187-189
69. Ibid. PP. 181-182
70. Ibid. PP. 182-184

CHAPTER V

1. Shah Waliullah :
Hujjatullah al Baligha; Urdu Tr. by
Abdul Haq Hazarvi
(Himayate Islam Press, Lahore), Vol. I
PP. 89-90
2. Ibid. P. 91
3. Ibid. P. 92
4. Ibid. P. 93
5. Ibid. P. 94
6. Ibid. P. 95
7. Ibid. P. 96
8. Ibid. P. 97
9. Ibid. P. 98
10. Ibid. P. 99
11. Ibid. P. 100
12. Ibid. P. 101
13. Ibid. P. 107
14. Ibid. P. 108
15. Ibid. P. 116
16. Ibid. P. 117
17. Ibid. P. 121
18. Ibid. P. 122
19. Ibid. P. 123
20. Ibid. P. 124
21. Ibid. P. 125
22. Ibid. P. 130
23. Ibid. P. 144
24. Ibid. P. 145
25. Ibid. P. 147
26. Shah Waliullah :
Alfauzul Kabir; Urdu Tr. by Ansari,
Rashid Ahmad (Maktaba Burhan, Delhi) PP. 7-18
27. Shah Waliullah :
Hujjatillah al Baligha; Urdu Tr. by A. H. Hazarvi
with original Arabic text
(Himayate Islam Press, Lahore) Vol. I, P. 148.

28. Ibid. P. 151
29. Ibid. P. 152
30. Ibid. P. 153
31. Ibid. P. 52
32. Ibid. P. 53
33. Ibid. P. 54
34. Ibid. PP. 52-53
35. Ibid. P. 54
36. Ibid. P. 55
37. Ibid. PP. 55-56

CHAPTER VI

1. Shah Waliullah :
   Altaful Quds, Urdu Tr. by Zaheeruddin, Syed with original Persian Text (Matabe Ahmadi, Delhi), PP. 3-7
2. Shah Waliullah :
   Alfauzul Kabir; Urdu Tr. by Ansari, Rashid Ahmad (Maktaba Burhan, Delhi), PP. 4-10
2. Shah Waliullah :
   Altaful Quds; Urdu Tr. by Zaheeruddin, Syed with original Persian Text (Matba Ahmadi, Delhi), PP. 5-11
3. Ibid. PP. 53, 94, 95
4. Ibid. PP. 88-89, 92
5. Ibid. PP. 8-12, 71-72
6. Ibid. PP. 73-75
7. Ibid. PP. 75-77
8. Ibid. P. 78
9. Ibid. PP. 26-27
10. Ibid. PP. 28-35
11. Ibid. P. 40
12. Ibid. PP. 38-39
13. Ibid. P. 39
14. Kamali, Sabih Ahmad :
    Types of Islamic Thought (Institute of Islamic Studies, AMU., Aligarh) P. 112
15. Ibid. P. 112
16. Ibid. P. 113
17. Ibid. PP. 113-116
18. Shah Waliullah :
    Hamaat; Urdu Tr. by Obaidullah Sindhi (Maktaba Rahmania, Deoband), PP. 62-75

19. Ibid. PP. 122-127
20. Ibid. P. 128
21. Ibid. P. 128
22. Shah Waliullah ;
Hujjatillah al Baligha; Urdu Tr. by
A.H. Hazarvi with original Arabic Text
(Himayate Islam Press, Lahore), Vol. I,
PP. 89-92
23. Ibid. P. 94
24. Ibid. P. 95
25. Ibid. PP. 96-97
26. Ibid. PP. 98-116
27. Ibid. PP. 117-122
28. Ibid. P. 123
29. Ibid. P. 124
30. Ibid. P. 116
31. Ibid. PP. 125-130
32. Ibid. PP. 131-144
33. Ibid. P. 145
34. Ibid. P. 147
Shah Waliullah ;
Alfauzul Kabir; Urdu Tr. by Ansari,
Rashid Ahmad (Maktaba Burhan, Delhi),
PP. 7-18
Shah Waliullah ;
Hujjatillah al Baligha; Urdu Tr. by
A. H. Hazarvi, with original Arabic Text
(Himayate Islam Press, Lahore), Vol. I,
P. 148
35. Ibid. P. 148
36. Shah Waliullah; Urdu Tr. by Zaheeruddin, Syed
with original Persian text
(Maktaba Ahmadi, Delhi), P. 27
37. Ibid. P. 28

1. Alrahim Ed. Mohd. Sarvar, Vol. I, 2, July 1963
(Shah Waliullah Academy, Hyderabad)
Mohd. Abdullah Umarpuri:
Ulum Aqaliyah aur Khanwadae Waliullahi
PP 9-16
Abdul Hamid Sawani :
Hikmate Waliullahi ke Sharihin
PP. 54-67

2. Alrahim Ed. Mohd. Sarwar, Vol. I, 3, August 1963
Shah Waliullah Academy, Hyderabad)
Abdullah Umarpuri :
Ulume Kashfiyah aur Shah Waliullah

3. Alrahim Ed. Mohd. Sarwar, Vol. I, 4, 6, September, November, 1963
(Shah Waliullah Academy, Hyderabad)
Editor:
Shah Waliullah ka Tarikhi Pase Manzar
(family life)
PP. 9-19
Asir, Maslahuddin Ahmad :
Ilme Lataif Ke Bayan Men

4. Alrahim Ed. Mohd. Sarwar, Vol. I, 5, Octo. 1963
(Shah Waliullah Academy, Hyderabad)
Abdullah Umarpuri :
Ulume Waliullahi, PP. 41-45
Khawaja Abdul Wahid :
Asre Jadid Ka Jalilulqadr Mufakkir, PP. 53-56

5. Alrahim Ed. Mohd. Sarwar, Vol. I, 11, April 1964
(Shah Waliullah Academy, Hyderabad)
Professor Ziauddin :
Wajud Ki Bahas, PP. 64-72

6. Alrahim Ed. Gh. Mustafa Qasim, Vol. III, 1,2,3, June, July, August, 1965
(Shah Waliullah Academy, Hyderabad)
Faridi, Nasim Ahmad Amrohavi :
'Hazrat Syed Abu Saeed Hasani Raipuri ke Rawabit Hazrat Shah Waliullah Muhaddis Dehlavi ke Khandan se' (Murasalat ki Roshni men), PP. 67-72, 95-110, 207-265

7. Alrahim Ed. Gh. Mustafa Qasmi, Vol. III, 4, Sept. 1965
(Shah Waliullah Academy, Hyderabad)
Qureshi, Tufail Ahmad :
'Hazrat Shah Waliullah ka Tasawure Ruh',
PP. 277-292

8. Alrahim Ed. Gh. Mustafa Qasmi, Vol. III, 5, 6, 7, 9, 12, Oct., Nov., Dec., 1965; April, May 1966.
(Shah Waliullah Academy, Hyderabad)
Editor :
'Shah Waliullah ki Talifat par Ek Nazar',
PP. 307-317, 361-371, 581-593, 767-774, 875-880

9. Alrahim Ed. Gh. Mustafa Qasmi, Vol. III, 7, Dec. 1965
Mohd. Sarwar :
'Wahdatul Wajud aur Wahdatul Shuhud'
PP. 325-339

10. Alrahim Ed. Gh. Mustafa Qasmi, Vol. III, 8, Jan. 1966
(Shah Waliullah Academy, Hyderabad)
Mohd. Sarwar :
'Shah Waliullah ke Khususi Tariqae Fikr'
PP. 465-486

11. Alrahim Ed. Gh. Mustafa Qasmi, Vol. III, 8, Jan. 1966
(Shah Waliullah Academy, Hyderabad)
Abdul Hamid Sawani :
'Tahqiq Wahdatul Wujud Aur Wahdatul Shuhud'
PP. 485-492

12. Alrahim Ed. Gh. Mustafa Qasim, Vol. III, 8, Jan. 1966
(Shah Waliullah Academy, Hyderabad)
B.A. Dar :
'Shah Waliullah - Sawanih Hayat Aur Mahaul'
Tr. Khalid Masood.
(Originally published in 'Iqbal Review', Iqbal Academy, Karachi, Pakistan), PP. 527-570

13. Alrahim Ed. Gh. Mustafa Qasmi, Vol. III, 12, May 1966
(Shah Waliullah Academy, Hyderabad)
Mohd. Halim Chishti :
'Shah Waliullah Aur Shah Rafiuddin',
BB. 829-840

14. Alfurqan Monthly Ed. Nomani, Mohd. Manzoor
(Bareilly Electric Press, Bareilly) 1359 H
Ramzan-Zilhijjah
Nadvi, Masood Alam :
'Imam Waliullah Dehlavi se Pahle Islami Hind ki Dini Halat Aur Tadriji Irtiqa',
PP. 17-40

Obaidullah Sindhi :
'Imam Waliullah ki Hikmat ka Ijmali Taaruf'
PP. 233-320

Nadvi, Syed Sulaiman :
'Hindustan men Islami Hukumat Ke Zawal ke Asbab ... Sahab Ki Nazar men.'

Mohd. Hasan Badar Sambhali :
'Hezrat Shah Waliullah Aur Unke Kam Ke Mukhtasar Taaruf'.

15. Mohd. Ismail Godharwi Tr.
'Burhane Ilahi' - Urdu Tr. Waliullah's Hujjatillah al Baligha
(Sheikh Ghulam Ali Publishers, Lahore)

16. Shah Waliullah :
'Khulqe Azim', 1926

17. Shah Waliullah :
'Maktubate Farsi' with Urdu Tr.

18. Shah Waliullah :
Alfauzul Kabir Tr. by Ansari, Rashid Ahmad
(Maktaba Burhan, Delhi), 1914

19. Khalil Ahmad Tr.
'Ayatullah al Kamilah' - Urdu Tr. Waliullah's Hujjatillah al Baligha
(Kutub Khanae Islami, Lahore)

20. Obaidullah Sindhi Tr.
'Sharah Hujjatillah al Baligha'
(Maktaba Baitul Hikmat, Lahore), 1950

21. Shah Waliullah :
'Kashshaf Fi Tarjumane Insaf'
(Matba Mujtabai, 1819)

22. Shah Waliullah :
'Sharah Hazbul Bahr Al musamma Bi Hawame'
Tr. by Mohd. Abdul Ahad
(Matba Mujtabai, Delhi 1350 H)

23. Shah Waliullah :
'Hamaat' - Urdu Tr. by Obaidullah Sindhi
(Maktaba Rahmania, Deoband)

24. Shah Waliullah :
'Alqual Jamil Fi Bayan Sawais Sabil',
Tr. by Mohd. Sarwar
(Sindh Sagar Academy, Lahore, 1961)

25. Farooqi, Burhanuddin :
'The Mujaddid's conception of Tawhid'
(Sh. Mohd. Ashraf Publishers, Lahore) 1940

26. Sabih Ahmad Kamali :
'Types of Islamic Thoughts'
(Institute of Islamic Studies, AMU., Aligarh)

27. Manazir Ahsan Gilani :
'Tazkira Hazrat Shah Waliullah'
(Islamic Academy, Lyallpur, Pakistan,1961)

28. Rahim Bakhsh, Abu Mohd.
'Hayate Wali'
(Afzalul Matabe wa Afzalul Akhbar, Delhi)
1319 H.

29. Maududi, Abul Ala :
'Tajdid wa Ahyae Din' - Hazrat Shah Waliullah Muhaddis Dehlavi Ke Tazkira Aur Zamanan Adwiyeen Ke Karnamon Par Tanqidi Tabsira.
(Tarjumanul Quran Office, Lahore)

30. Shah Waliullah :
'Hujjatillah al Daligha', Vol. I, Tr. by A. H. Hazarvi, with original Text
(Himayate Islam Press, Lahore)

31. Shah Waliullah :
'Altaful Quds' with original Persian text
Tr. by Syed Zaheeruddin
(Matba Ahmadi, Delhi)

32. Shah Waliullah :
'Maktube Madani' Tr. by Mohd. Hanif Nadvi
(Idarae Saqafate Islamia, Lahore).

33. Umaruddin, M:
'Ethical Philosophy of Al-Ghazali'
(Muslim University - Aligarh) 1962